POOR RELIEF IN SCOTLAND

By ALEXANDER A. CORMACK, M.A.

Th Rennes
1923

L'Evolution de l'Assistance Publique en Ecosse.

— thèse présentée pour le doctorat de l'Université de Rennes.

POOR RELIEF IN SCOTLAND

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/IA41543513_0013

BISHOP DUNBAR'S HOSPITAL AT ST. MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL
(Founded in 1531).

See pages 14 and 154.

Reproduced by permission, from a print in the Aberdeen University Library.

Poor Relief in Scotland

AN OUTLINE OF THE GROWTH AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE POOR LAWS IN SCOTLAND, FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

ALEXANDER A. CORMACK, M.A.

ABERDEEN
D. WYLLIE & SON MCMXXIII

R. UNIV.
BIBLIOTHEEK
LEIDEN

350 Copies printed, of which

this is No.....

TO

the late

WILLIAM CORMACK

Inspector of Poor Newhills 1901–1920

PREFACE

THIS is an effort to trace from records the growth of the spirit of the Poor Law in Scotland from Pre-Reformation times to the present day. The three relieving organisations that administered the law are examined in turn: viz., the Pre-Reformation Church and its Monastic Orders to 1560; the Church of Scotland (which in urban areas had the help of the Town Council) to 1845; and the Parochial Board, followed by the Parish Council in modern times. The records of Aberdeen (a city parish) and of Newhills (a rural parish) were selected to illustrate the text.

It is hoped that this outline will be of interest not only to Parish Councillors and officials who administer our Poor Laws, but also to that growing section of the public interested in the means taken to alleviate poverty and human suffering.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Inspectors of Poor, Librarians, and Public Officials, for courtesy and help in the examination of records; to Mr. C. Cleveland Ellis, Superintendent of the Poor, Scottish Board of Health, and Mr. James Cruickshank, Westwood, Stoneywood, for sympathetic interest and practical

criticism; and to Dr. George Middleton, who read the proof sheets.

The printing of this edition was rendered possible by a substantial Grant made by the Carnegie Trust.

A. A. C.

ABERDEEN, *December*, 1923.

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER I. The Pre-Reformation Church and the Poor; Monasteries and Hospitals in Aberdeen and the Diocese - - - - 1

CHAPTER II. The Presbyterian Church System; The Reformation in Aberdeen - - - 27

CHAPTER III. The first constructive legislation for the relief of the poor in Scotland, 1574 and 1579 - - - - - - - 36

CHAPTER IV. The Reformed Church becomes the local Poor Law Authority; Evidence from Aberdeen's records - - - - 40

CHAPTER V. Economic conditions in Scotland and legislation for the poor, 1638-1844 - 51

CHAPTER VI. Poor relief by the Reformed Church in rural parishes—Newhills, Ordiquhill, St. Fergus - - - - - - 59

CHAPTER VII. Administration of relief in Aberdeen City, 1638-1844 - - - - 75

CHAPTER VIII. Voluntary Contribution *versus* Legal Assessment—Professor Robert Hamilton - - - - - - - - 87

CHAPTER IX. William Watson—the Children's Sheriff - - - - - - - - 95

PAGE

CHAPTER X. Dr. Thomas Chalmers and Dr. William Pulteney Alison - - - - - 103

CHAPTER XI. The Assessment in Aberdeen and throughout Scotland - - - - - 108

CHAPTER XII. The changing industrial and economic conditions that hastened the Act of 1845 - - - - - - - - - 114

CHAPTER XIII. The Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1845 - - - - - - 119

CHAPTER XIV. Complaints about the Act of 1845 - - - - - - - - - - 129

CHAPTER XV. Subsequent legislation amending the Act of 1845 - - - - - - 134

CHAPTER XVI. Mortifications and Hospitals for the Poor in Aberdeen after the Reformation: St. Thomas's Hospital, Trades Hospital, Leper Hospital, Bishop Dunbar's Hospital, Robert Gordon's Hospital, Poor's Hospital, Mitchell's Hospital, Asylum for Blind, Royal Infirmary, etc. - - - - - - - 140

CHAPTER XVII. Prospect - - - - - 187

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Bishop Dunbar's Hospital, Old Aberdeen, 1531 - - - - - - - - *Frontispiece*

William Watson, the Children's Sheriff Facing page 96

Parochial Board of St. Nicholas, 1883 - ,, 123

Gateway of Trades Hospital (founded in 1633) - - - - - - - - ,, 146

Mrs. Mary Elmslie (founder of Aberdeen Female Orphan Asylum) - - - ,, 164

House of Refuge in 1857 (Cumberland House, Guestrow) - - - - - ,, 166

First School of Industry, 1841 (Chronicle Lane) - - - - - - - - ,, 170

Boys' and Girls' Hospital, 1871 (King Street) - - - - - - - On page 171

Seal of Aberdeen Endowments' Trust, 1909 ,, 172

CHAPTER I

The Pre-Reformation Church and the Poor of Aberdeen.

WE have no written records of the social conditions in Scotland prior to the coming of Christianity. No doubt our pagan forefathers were endowed with some amount of human sympathy—the one towards the other—but no moral obligation to help a fellow-countryman would have been recognized. Any account of the relief of poverty in Scotland must therefore begin with the establishment of the Christian Church ; and the history of this Christian poor relief is exceedingly difficult, because, in accordance with the command of Christ, " But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth," Matt. vi, 3, it for the most part avoids publicity, it deals with individuals, and it is largely influenced by existing social institutions.

The Church found its authority for its works of charity in the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The Mosaic law expressly commanded the giving of alms, " For the poor shall never cease out of the land : therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shall open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy in the land," Deut. xv, 11. The divine command of charity towards one's neighbour was clearly expressed in the law, " Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," Lev. xix, 18.

In apostolic times, the care of the poor was in the hands of the Apostles, and later of the Deacons, " men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost, and wisdom, whom ye may appoint over this business," Acts vi, 3.

The appointment of the Diaconate was the first constructive policy of the Apostolic Church to relieve poverty. The Deacons were destined to play a very important part in the relief of poverty in Scotland from the Reformation until the Act of 1845, and in ecclesiastical charity, even to this day. The Apostles proclaimed the high moral dignity of work, and the obligation to work: " If any would not work, neither should he eat," II Thess. iii, 10. They forbade the support of lazy beggars: " Let him that stole, steal no more; but rather let him labour, that he may give to him that needeth," Eph. iv, 28. They taught the poor to be modest and thankful, " For godliness with contentment is great gain," I Tim. vi, 6.

Now this organization of the early Church required an income to support it. In I Cor. ix, 13, it is expressly stated that the ministers who serve the altar should live near the altar. At first these ministers were maintained by the spontaneous offerings of the faithful. The Roman Emperor Constantine then allowed the Church to possess property; and lands, etc., were gifted and bequeathed to the Church, often on behalf of the poor. Other sources of income for poor relief were: the surplus of the oblations at the offertory of the mass; the offerings of alms at the beginning of the service (our modern church-door collection), the alms box, and then a share of the tithes. A tithe (from the Anglo-Saxon teotha = a tenth) may be defined as the tenth part of all fruits and profits justly acquired, and owed to God in recognition of His supreme dominion over man, and to be paid to the

ministers of the Church. The form " teind " is used in Scotland instead of " tithe." The custom of giving tithes reaches back into unknown antiquity (Genesis xiv). The earliest mention of the compulsory payment of teinds in the north-east of Scotland is in a precept[1] by William the Lion (1175) enforcing the payment of teinds in Moray. It is impossible to know what fraction of the teinds the clergy actually spent on relieving the poor, but a fraction commonly suggested by writers is one-third. We have some idea of the amount of the teinds from King William's enactment that teinds were to be paid " de blado, et lana, et lino, et pullis, et vitulis, et porcellis, et agnis, de butiro, et caseo, de piscanis " ; that is, in crops, wool, linen, hens, cattle, pigs, lambs, butter, cheese, and fish. Likewise the theynus or thane (a lesser nobleman) was to compel his rusticus or villanus (crofter) to pay teinds to the Church, and failing the theynus, the vicecomes of the balliva (deputy-lieutenant of the shire). Black, in his *Parochial Ecclesiastical Law of Scotland*, page 300 *et seq.*, says that he finds no trace of teinds paid to the Culdees, or fraternities of monks, descendant from St. Columba. The Culdees owned land, however, and David I transferred these to churches and monasteries of Anglo-Norman origin. This same king gave extensive grants of lands to his Anglo-Norman friends, who were compelled to pay teinds. Churches were built as the increase of population demanded, and each priest had his district or parish. Very often, however, the teinds were payable to monasteries, which made an allowance to the resident parish priest. At the Reformation, Scotland consisted of nine hundred and forty parishes, roughly the same number as to-day (869, excluding *quoad sacra*

[1] General Index of the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland—Teinds.

parishes). In 678 of these, the teinds were paid to the monasteries or bishops. In the remaining 262 parishes, the priests drew what teinds they could from their patron landowners. Consequently the rich clergy were very rich, and the parochial clergy, unless they were sons of noble families, were very poor. From this we may reasonably conclude that the parish priest had very little at his disposal with which to succour poverty.

There is no evidence to show when the first church was built in Aberdeen. The city originated as a small outlet port and fishing centre, and the church was dedicated to St. Nicholas (a bishop of Myra in Lycia in the fourth century), patron of mariners. The parish, too, was named St. Nicholas. Parson Gordon of Rothiemay, describing Aberdeen in 1661, said of the church:

> Thir is no church so neat and beautiful to be seen in Scotland; and albeit it be past 500 years since it begane to be builded, yit all things about it look so fyne and sound, that it seems to be but newly builded. The old church began to be builded by the citizens about the yeir 1060. The fabrick augmented by little and little and enriched with gifts dedicated thereto.

The chartulary of the church gives no evidence of the correctness of this date, for the oldest entry in it is dated 1342. We cannot say, therefore, exactly when Christian charity began to be practised in Aberdeen. It was the Bishop, residing near the Cathedral in the neighbouring parish of St. Machar, who was parson of the church and titular of the teinds, both of parsonage teinds (of crops), and of vicarage teinds (of cattle, fowls, eggs, etc.), as well as of the teinds of certain salmon fishings of the Dee and Don.

The Bishop usually appointed the sixth prebendary of his Cathedral to be vicar of St. Nicholas parish and church. But what these vicars did for the poor of

Aberdeen it is impossible to estimate from the scanty documents extant.

The Monasteries in Aberdeen.

The churches were not the only channels of Christian charity in mediæval Scotland. The monasteries established by the Culdees, and then in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the Roman Church, were also centres of relief. Each monastery had an almoner who administered relief to the poor, usually in the form of food and clothing, and who entertained needy travellers. In the recent excavations at Jedburgh Abbey, the refectory has been laid bare with its walls almost intact. Besides the windows, there is a smaller opening in the wall which, doubtless, was used by the almoner in his ministrations to the poor. The monasteries, too, served, by the example and teaching of their monks, to turn lazy vagrants into useful citizens—the best form of relief. They taught agriculture, the crafts and the arts: they trained the youth, erected hospices for strangers, and hospitals for the sick. The rich were encouraged—for the safety of their souls—to make generous legacies to the monks, to be administered to the poor. At the Reformation the loss of the monasteries was felt and proved in Aberdeen by the fact that the Town Council claimed the monastery of the Grey Friars on behalf of the poor—to be a hospital, and Parliament ratified the claim in 1584.[1]

There were friars of four orders in Aberdeen—red, black, white, and grey, in the order of their settling. A *Preliminary Calendar of Illustrative Documents* concerning Aberdeen friars was compiled in 1909 by Mr. P. J. Anderson, University Librarian.

[1] Scots Acts III, page 321.

Trinity or Red Friars.

King William in 1211 sent two of these to Aberdeen to instruct the people, and gave them his palace and garden (at the foot of Market Street) to be a convent.[1] The same King gave them various mills, lands, and fishings in Dee and Don.[2] The charters to the Red Friars are in the Charter Room of the Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen, who in 1633 were presented by Dr. Guild with this monastery to be a hospital for poor old craftsmen.[3]

The Dominican or Black Friars.

These preaching and teaching friars were introduced into Scotland in 1230 by Alexander II.[4] In the *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen* (1732), we read: "Their convent was where now the Grammar School of Aberdeen stands [present site of Art Gallery], and was given them by King Alexander II, having formerly been his own palace." They, too, soon acquired considerable possessions in land, as well as annuities.[5] These fell to Earl Marischal at the Reformation, who used them to endow Marischal College. He sold the manse, barns and yard to David Anderson of Finzeach, whose widow, Jean Guild, bestowed this property upon the Council and Magistrates of Aberdeen for the maintenance of ten indigent orphans of the town, male or female (1649).[6] In 1732 "that croft of land with the houses and yaird pertaining thereto, which of old belonged to the Black Friars, lyand contiguous to the Black Friars' Manse,"[7]

[1] Boece *Scotorum Historia* (1526), Fol. 289.
[2] *Spottiswoode's Account* (1734), page 427.
[3] *Calendar of Documents of Aberdeen Friars.*
[4] Boece *Scotorum Historia* (1526), Fol. 294.
[5] See *Calendar of Documents of Aberdeen Friars.*
[6] *Aberdeen Mortifications*, page 128.
[7] *Calendar of Documents of Aberdeen Friars*, page 118.

was sold by Marischal College to the patrons and governors of Robert Gordon's Hospital for the upbringing of necessitous boys of burgesses. This is the present Robert Gordon's College, a handsomely endowed Secondary School.

The Carmelite or White Friars.

The earliest reference to them in Aberdeen is contained in a charter by King David II (1361) confirming various grants and donations which had previously been made to them.[1] Their monastery was situated on the south side of the Green Market, and its site was, after the Reformation, used as a corn market by order of the Town Council. Although a mendicant order, they had extensive possessions at the Reformation. The *Calendar of Documents* gives the full list, and shows, too, very clearly (pp. 100 *et seq.*) that all the monastic buildings in Aberdeen changed hands very frequently between 1560 and 1593. Notable claimants of these properties were: the town; the faithful captains of Queen Mary, Lauder and Chisholm; William Leslie of Balquhain, a champion of the old Church; and George, Fifth Earl Marischal, the leader of the Protestants, who in 1593 established as a rival to King's College (a Roman Catholic seminary) Marischal College, and endowed it with the bulk of the possessions of the friars.

The Franciscan or Grey Friars.

This order of mendicant friars was the last to settle in Aberdeen. These were the scholars and teachers of theology in the Middle Ages. In 1463 they were empowered to erect three or four friaries in Scotland by a bull of Pope Pius II.[2] In 1469 Richard Vaus of Meny,

[1] *Calendar of Documents of Aberdeen Friars*, page 12.
[2] *Ibid.*, page 37.

burgess of Aberdeen, with the consent of Bishop Thomas Spence, and of King James III, granted by charter to the Grey Friars a land on the east side of the Gallowgate.[1] Neighbouring proprietors added strips of land in 1479 and 1481 for the enlargement of the cloister. This monastery, being of a much later date, acquired less wealth than the others. In 1559 Friar John Patrick, with eighty others of the order, fled to Belgium.[2]. In the same year Friar John Roger resigned all the possessions of the friars to the provost, baillies, and community of Aberdeen.[3]

In 1567 King James VI granted a charter to the Town Council for the Grey Friars' place to be converted into a hospital. In 1572 the Town Council resolved to erect a hospital for poor, honest decayed folk on the north parts of the Grey Friars' place, to reserve the kirk with St. John's aisle, and to sell the rest by auction. In 1574 the Council got a decree for the removal of wrongous occupiers of the place. In 1576 David Marr and others resigned their claim to the place and buildings, which were sold in part, and the proceeds given to the hospital. In 1587 King James VI revoked his gift of the monastery and granted a new charter to George, 6th Earl of Huntly, who resigned it in 1589 to the Town Council. In 1593 the Council resigned the whole to Earl Marischal for his new college to be founded. Acts of the Scots Parliament in 1633, 1641, and again in 1661, after the Restoration, gave back to the Town Council the kirk and the yard of the Grey Friars.[4]

The fact is that George, Earl Marischal, belonged to

[1] *Preliminary Calendar*, page 40.
[2] Dempster's *Hist. Ecc.* II, page 539.
[3] *Burgh Charters*, A²18.
[4] *Preliminary Calendar*, page 100 *et seq.* See also Ratification in Acts of Parliament, 1593 and 1661.

an enthusiastic Protestant family. He was educated abroad, notably by the Reformer Beza, and on his return was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the North to subdue rebellious Roman Catholics. His great ambition was to found a college for the Reformed Church within the city, and this he did, endowing it with the properties of the monks.

The Hospitals in Aberdeen.

The Pre-Reformation Church, in addition to its system of outdoor relief administered by priests and monks, had likewise a system of indoor relief. It had its hospitals. The oldest was the city hospital of St. Thomas, endowed and presented to the Town Council by a canon of the Church. The mortification was written in Latin, and the following is a translation[1]:

> In the name of God, Amen. Be it made clearly known to all men, by this present public instrument, that in the year from the incarnation of our Lord 1459, the 28th day of May; Since we shall all stand before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ to receive according as we have done in the body, whether it be good or evil; Therefore a venerable and prudent man, John Clat, canon of the churches of Aberdeen and Brechin, desiring with God's permission to extend and increase the worship of Holy Mother Church, gave, granted, and assigned, all and whole, his lands, and tenements of his lands, lying within the burgh of Aberdeen, on the south side of the Netherkirkgate of the same, between the burn or aqueduct, which runs down from the Upper Mill of the said burgh on the east, on the one side, and the common vennel which is on the east side of the cemetery of the Parish Church of the blessed Nicholas of the said burgh, on the other side, as they extend from the said Netherkirkgate towards the north, as far as the land of John Howison, burgess, of the said burgh, towards the south, to the erecting of a hospital for the honour of Almighty God, and the blessed Virgin Mary, his most glorious mother, and of all the saints, and specially in honour of St. Thomas the Martyr, for the reception of poor and infirm men,

[1] From *Chartulary of St. Nicholas*, Fol. 62. Reproduced in *Aberdeen Mortifications*, page 3.

coming to the foresaid hospital; of which hospital, lands and possessions, assigned and to be assigned, to the same, as also of the poor and infirm men living in it, after its erection, he created and ordained Sir John Chalmers to be master and rector, and gave and assigned to him in perpetuity, the chaplaincy of the same; but the right of patronage of the chaplaincy of the said hospital, after his own decease, and the decease of the said Sir John, he willed, should belong and pertain in time to come to the provost and community of the said burgh; further he gave and assigned to the said Sir John, all and whole, his lands and tenements foresaid, together with that annual feu-duty belonging to him, of eighteen shillings of silver, issuing annually and leviable from the land of John Barlotson, lying in the top of the Castlegate, as also with that annual feu-duty belonging to him of six shillings and eight pence issuing annually and leviable from the land of Henry Walker, lying on the north side of the foresaid Netherkirkgate; as also with that annual feu-duty belonging to him of six marks, usual money of Scotland, issuing annually and leviable from the lands of Mondinis, lying within the shire of Kincardine, which he had by plain conquest from Alexander de Petkarne of Mondinis, for celebrating masses in the said hospital according to the disposition of his body, for his own soul, for the souls of our Lord James the present king, Alexander Stewart Earl of Mar, his father and mother, and of himself, and of all the faithful dead, of whose goods he had, directly and indirectly; and this same thing, every chaplain whatsoever, governing the foresaid hospital, after the death of the said Sir John, shall perform.

On the 4th of July, 1459, Richard of Kintore, Provost of Aberdeen, sold nineteen roods of land in Kintore at a nominal price to John Clat, the founder, to be a further endowment to the hospital.[1] Part of this land (nine roods) was sold before the Reformation, and the remaining ten roods were sold in 1609 to George, Earl Marischal.[2]

This hospital was situated near the east end of St. Nicholas Church, and was known later as the Beadhouse. Its charter seems to have destined it to serve as a general hospital, but at the Reformation we find it serving as a

[1] *Aberdeen Mortifications*, page 6.
[2] *Council Register*, vol. xviii, page 84.

Guild Brethren's Hospital. This had come about, doubtless, when the management had devolved on the Town Council.

Leper Hospital.

This hospital was situated outside the city on the low ground between the Gallow Hills and the Spital Road.[1] The land was known as the Leper Croft or the Sickhouse Croft. The hospital was supported by public funds in order to keep the lepers away from clean citizens. In 1519, Alexander Galloway, parson of Kinkell, erected a chapel on the Leper Croft for the solemn exercises of devotion, and dedicated to St. Ann.[2]

The Council gave the ground for the chapel. On 16th August, 1591, King James VI, at Falkland, granted to the Lepers' hospital between Aberdeen and Old Aberdeen one peat from every load brought to both towns, because the lepers were unable to sustain themselves in meat and fire, and lived very miserably, especially in the winter season, and thus imperilled the health of many clean folks by their company and infection. In 1718, when leprosy had disappeared, the Leper Croft was sold to King's College, and the proceeds added to a private mortification for the maintenance of insane persons.[3] The Master of the Guild Brethren's Hospital (formerly St. Thomas's) had for years been receiving the rental of the Leper Croft, he being master of both hospitals. If there were no insane persons, the money was spent on the poor. By Act of Council, dated 4th May, 1741, this mortification, along with others of a like nature, was handed over to the Royal Infirmary, which was founded in that year.[4]

[1] Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen* II, 82.
[2] *Council Register*, vol. x, page 154.
[3] *Council Register*, vol. lviii, page 591.
[4] *Council Register*, vol. lx, page 687.

Temporary Plague Hospitals.

In the sixteenth century outbreaks of plague were only too common in Aberdeen. Patients were removed to isolation huts on the links and Gallowhills until they made a complete recovery. Serious outbreaks are mentioned in the *Council Records* of the years 1514 and 1546.

The Hospitals of the Diocese.

According to the chartulary of the Cathedral Church of Old Aberdeen, made in 1430 by Henry de Rynde, treasurer, and Bishop Henry Leighton, the seat of the bishop was removed from Mortlach to Old Aberdeen about the year 1136. The diocese comprised the whole county of Aberdeen (except six parishes in Strathbogie), twelve parishes in Banff, and six parishes in Kincardine. There were five royal burghs: Aberdeen, Kintore, Inverurie, Banff, and Cullen; seven royal castles: Aberdeen, Banff, Cullen, Kildrummy, Hallforest, Dunnydeer, and Castleton of Braemar; ten religious houses of various monks and nuns: Aberdeen (5), Banff (2), Monymusk (1), Deer (1), and Fyvie (1). There were five deaneries, Garioch, Mar, Aberdeen, Buchan, and Boyne, with a total of 95 parish churches, which is roughly the same number of parishes as at present. The bishop allowed an annual benefice to each parson, and each parson cared for the poor in his parish. While we cannot gauge the amount of this outdoor relief, we find certain definite information concerning the indoor or hospital relief provided within the diocese by the bishop.

Two hospitals were established in Old Aberdeen.

The first was the hospital of St. Peter, and was situated on the south side of Old Aberdeen (near the present St. Peter's Cemetery) in the district at present known as the Spital (a contraction of Hospital). The

oldest part of the Spital Kirkyard would have been the site of the hospital, while its chapel stood on the enclosed private vault of the Moirs of Scotstown. It was founded by Matthew Kininmund, Bishop of Aberdeen, in the reign of King William the Lion (1166-1214). The original charter is reprinted in the *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* I, 11. Translation:

> To all the sons of the holy mother church, Matthew by the grace of God, the humble servant of the church in the diocese of Aberdeen, wishes salvation in Christ. Be it known to those both of time present and time to come, that we by inspiration of divine grace, have instituted within the territory of Aberdeen a hospital for infirm brethren in honour of St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, and for the weal of the soul of King William, and the souls of his ancestors and successors, and our own soul and the souls of our ancestors and successors. And we have given to the said hospital and to the infirm persons dwelling in it various lands [now forming part of the estate of Hilton]. This we have given, conceded, and by this our present charter we have confirmed in free and perpetual charity, along with the land which is around the hospital itself, and with the whole tithes of our lordship of Aberdeen, except the tithes which we have assigned in perpetuity to the clerics performing divine service in the church of St. Mary Ad Nives [the parish church of St. Machar]. To the same infirm brethren we have given also the tithes of our rents paid in kind and of the receipts of our courts of justice and of our income, and the tithe of rents, of meal and malt and fodder, the tithe also of our grain, salt and hay, of flesh also and of fish, and of all kinds of food bought for the use of our house. Wherefore we desire that the foresaid hospital and the infirm persons occupying it may hold and possess its lands and all its tithes above mentioned, and its possessions, as freely and peaceably as is done by any house for infirm brethren established in the kingdom of Scotland.
>
> Then follow the names of 23 witnesses.

In 1317, likewise by charter,[1] Bishop Cheyne granted and confirmed to John de Murthlac, master of the hospital, a whole net's salmon fishing on the River Don, being one of the three nets belonging to the bishop, and distinguished by the name of Balgownie.

[1] *Chartulary* xxxiv *of Cathedral.*

In 1427 Bishop Henry Leighton diminished the revenue of the hospital, with the approval of the chapter. He withdrew the mill of Clatt, the croft of Rayne, the second tithe of the white fishing at Aberdeen, a salmon fishing at the Cruives of Don, and eight marks of the Balgownie salmon fishing, and restored them all to the bishop's table. He confirmed, however, to the hospital the land belonging to the parish church of Mary of the Snows (ad Nives), with its tithes and privileges, plus an annuity of ten marks to the two chaplains who, on Sunday, said Mass in the chapel of the hospital.[1] In 1527 the whole passed over to the Cathedral. Bishop Gordon, the last Roman Catholic bishop, feued the land to different persons. Notably, in 1565, he conveyed, by feu-charter, the lands of North Spital to Janet Knowles, his concubine, in life-rent, and to George Gordon, her son in fee, whom failing, to his brothers, John and William, and to his sisters, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Mathia, successively.[2] In 1574 King James VI by charter, under the great seal, granted to the members of King's College the sub-chantry of Aberdeen, including the rectory and vicarage of Spital.

Bishop Dunbar's Hospital.

Gavin Dunbar became bishop of Aberdeen about 1518, and died on 10th March, 1531. Just before his death, on 25th February, 1531, he granted a charter at Edinburgh, founding a hospital in Aberdeen for twelve poor men. *Fundacio hospitalis per dictum Gawinum episcopum Aberdonensem.*[3] We noted how St. Peter's Hospital was gradually deprived of its endowments

[1] *Chartulary of Cathedral.*
[2] Keith's *History of Scotland* (Appendix).
[3] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* (Spalding Club), vol. i, page 401.

towards the Reformation, and was in 1527 handed over to the Cathedral. The good Bishop Dunbar evidently realized that the restricted usefulness of that hospital was a decided loss to the diocese, and that further accommodation for the sick poor was necessary. The preamble of the charter is very interesting as being full of lofty Christian ideal.

> It is quite evident that all priests are but guardians and administrators of the church's patrimony, and not owners of it. And whatever of the church's revenues are left over to a priest, after he has supplied the church's and his own needs, the priest himself is expected to set aside for the poor. Feeling that after satisfying the church's and our own needs there is a considerable surplus, and mindful of the words of our Lord, to give bread to the hungry and clothing to him that hath none, and shelter to the wandering poor, and believing that, in order to win eternal life, it is not sufficient to perform religious ceremonies, but that it is important to help the poor with food, or raiment, or shelter, and desiring to relieve the poor in Jesus Christ and so win divine favour, we have decreed that a kind of hospital is to be built and endowed near our cathedral church outside the cemetery with the following measurements.

The following is a *résumé* of facts, taken from the charter, concerning the construction and administration of the hospital.

The building was 100 feet by 32 feet, and was divided into twelve cells, six on either side of a central corridor, eight feet wide, with a fireplace for each cell. At the north end there was a common room 36 feet by 16 feet, and at the south end a chapel of the same size with an altar. Above the common room there was a store, but nothing was above the chapel. There was a wooden belfry with a bell. The governor was the bishop's chaplain, and he divided the income from endowments among the twelve poor inmates. Each man got ten marks per annum to provide food and raiment: at Whitsuntide twelve white neckcloths were bought for ten marks; at the feast of St.

Michael one mark was given each man to buy a white cloak, while forty shillings were set aside for repairs to the building; the governor received five marks per annum for his chapel. The inmates had to pray daily for the happiness and prosperity of the King and for the souls of the bishop, of his predecessors and successors, and of all the faithful in Christ. The twelve were males and bachelors, and chosen from among the tenants or inhabitants of the episcopal lands; whom failing, from among those who had worked at the building of the Cathedral, of the palace of the bishop, or of the manses of the canons, or of the Bridge of Dee, which had just been built by the bishop; failing whom, from among any other poor men, at no fee, but out of pure charity, who by misfortune or otherwise had not the means of existing; the blind, the dumb, or the lame; any disabled in war for the bishop, the church, or the King. They had, as a rule, to be at least sixty years of age.

One inmate was appointed weekly to be janitor, to keep the keys of doors and gates, but not the keys of the cells. At seven he rang the bell and opened the outer door, the common room and the chapel, and the inmates went to the chapel to pray for one hour for the souls of those mentioned. They might then go to the Cathedral to hear Mass, if they so desired. At eleven the janitor rang to call the men to breakfast, either in their cells or in the common room, if they could agree among themselves. Then with the bell, they went to the chapel and repeated ten Paternosters and the Angelic Salutation for the souls mentioned, with the proper signs. Thence till five o'clock they went to work either in their cells or in the garden or orchard of the hospital. Prayers were resumed from five to six, and dinner had to be over by eight, when each said a psalm to Our Lady in the chapel

for the souls named. They were free then to go to bed, for the doors were locked, and at 3 a.m. they were awakened by the bell to repeat a psalm to the Virgin, begging pardon and remission of sins for the souls. The governor had full powers over the inmates, and no women were allowed inside. In case of misbehaviour, an inmate was punished on his body, or dismissed from the hospital by the governor, who was advised in such cases by the dean and the chapter. Vacancies, too, were filled by the dean and the chapter. The cell nearest to the chapel was reserved for any invalid inmate, who prayed and worshipped through the window to the chapel.

Stern injunctions were given to the governor to exact payment of all rents due by the burgesses of Aberdeen to the hospital, either through the ecclesiastical court or the King's court.

William Orem, Town Clerk of Aberdeen, describing the Chanonry and Old Aberdeen in 1724-1725, said that the hospital, with its garden and orchard, lay to the north of the Chanonry, with the parson of Tullynessle's manse on the east, the rector of Monymusk's manse on the west, and the Don on the north.

Kennedy quotes two inscriptions on the hospital in Latin. On the outside:[1]

> The reverend Father Gavin Dunbar, formerly bishop of the Holy See, had this home built for twelve poor men in the year of Our Lord 1532. Glory be to God.

and on the inside:

> I beg thee, when thou art about to pray to God in this place, to be mindful of the salvation of the soul of Gavin Dunbar, formerly bishop of the Holy See of Aberdeen, and founder of this home for the poor, who paid his debt to nature at St. Andrew's on March 10th, 1531. Those men to whom he gave food, are expected to pray. A bishop's glory is to provide for the needs of the poor.

[1] Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen* II, page 316.

It is shameful for a priest to strive after his own wealth. The suffering of the poor will continue till the end of time.

Other Hospitals Within the Diocese.

In the *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis* there are scattered references to other hospitals within the diocese, mentioned as early as the thirteenth century. Detailed information is lacking. There was one at Kincardine O'Neil said to date from 1270. Alexander, Earl of Buchan, Justiciary for Scotland, founded one for twelve poor men at Turriff, and another at Newburgh. Rathven, near Buckie, an ancient ecclesiastical settlement, had also a hospital for six poor men.

Legislation Anent the Poor, Vagrants, and Food-Hoarding Prior to the Reformation.

The following are brief summaries made from the Index of the Laws of the Parliament of Scotland. They serve to show that Royalty and Parliament, such as it was, did try to alleviate the distresses of the poor. There is no evidence, however, to show the existence of sufficient local machinery of justice to put these Acts into full operation.

The good King David took the poor and helpless under his own protection, enacting that when their property was stolen, it could be restored upon the evidence of one man swearing upon the altar.

Various Burgh Laws recorded, enacted that bread and ale which were forfeited were to be divided amongst the poor.

In the Forest Laws we find that if a wild beast were found dead or wounded, its flesh was to be given to the lepers, or to the poor and infirm.

King William endeavoured to have equal justice meted out to rich and poor alike, and to make the rich stand the assizes as frequently as the poor.

Various Guild Statutes made provision for the poor of the Guild, e.g., that poor brethren were to be buried at the expense of the Guild.

1318. The law of equal justice to rich and poor was re-enacted.

1424. The King, for the love of God, ordained judges to assign to poor men a leal and wise advocate. (Compare our modern law agents for the poor.)

1427. Reforms were made in the spiritual court to save expense and vexation to poor litigants.

1466. Copper money was ordered to be coined for alms to the poor; hospitals for failed creatures were to be reformed, and in cases where their lands were lost, any proceeds remaining were to be assigned to poor and miserable persons.

1469. As oppression was caused to the poor by the King's officers through extortion at fairs and during Parliament in taking distress of their small merchandise, it was declared illegal to take distress of goods carried by the owner.

Laws Anent Vagrants.

From 1385 to 1540 laws were passed again and again against masterful beggars. They were named variously, caterans, sorners, stark beggars, oppressors of the poor, etc., who took goods by violence. Sterner punishments had to be inflicted. Those with horses and hounds forfeited them, while feigned fools and bards were imprisoned, or had their ears nailed to the tron or post for a weigh-beam.

1424-1457. No one between the age of fourteen and

seventy was to beg, unless provided with a token from the sheriff or baillies to show that they could not work; beggars without tokens were to be branded and banished.[1]

1425. The sheriff was ordered to arrest and imprison idle men, unless they found a master within forty days.

1503. The Act of James I against " stark beggars " was ordered to be enforced, and only the crooked, blind, impotent, and weak were to be allowed to beg. Offenders were to be fined one mark.

1535. No one was to be allowed to beg except within the parish in which he was born, and unless provided with a token from the headsman of the parish. This was re-enacted in 1551 and 1555.

By these Acts, three points are already made clear, viz.:

1. The able-bodied are not entitled to any relief, and should be made to work. Not till 1921 was Scotland obliged to admit the claim to poor relief of the able-bodied unemployed.[2]

2. Certain folks, such as the crooked, the blind, and the impotent, are admitted to be unfit for work, and these have a claim to relief from their fellow men.

3. None shall be " tholed " to beg in a parish that are born in another parish. To this day the parish has remained the unit of administration of poor relief. A

[1] The date 1424 is considered to mark the first public and national recognition of the claims of the unfit to be allowed to beg, if provided with a badge. The Association of Inspectors of Poor proposes to celebrate the 500th anniversary of this law in 1924, as the beginning of national poor relief.

[2] This legislation, hastily passed amid the distress of the post-war slump in trade, has in its continued operation proved retrograde and demoralising, and has revealed a certain lack of vision on the part of the legislators.

larger area is at present under consideration. Here, too, we have (in embryo) the present law anent settlement of claim upon the parish of birth.

Laws Anent Food-Hoarding.

1449. Persons buying and holding victuals until there was a dearth, to be punished as usurers; old stacks of grain not to be kept longer than Christmas.

1452. All corn to be threshed out before the end of May. Only sufficient corn to be kept in the girnal for the family until Michaelmas.

1469. No oxen, sheep, or cattle to be sold out of the realm.

1478. Victuals declared to be " right scant " in the kingdom; importation encouraged.

1485. Great famine; counterfeit money in circulation.

1535. No cattle or victuals to be exported to England.

1540-1551. No white fish to be exported until the country was supplied.

1541-1551. Provosts and other burgh officers to fix prices for wine, salt, and timber; only owners and burgh officers to sell, and at fixed prices.

1551. No lambs to be killed for three years. No " lapronis " or young " poutis " to be killed except by noblemen with hawks.

1551. Various classes of people were restricted to a certain number of dishes at meals.

1555. No export of victuals, flesh, or tallow allowed; bread, ale, and aquavitæ might be exported to the isles in barter.

We can read between the lines of these enactments

that famine and hunger were common and recurrent. We must remember that there were no big cities making a constant demand for foodstuffs. Consequently most farmers grew only sufficient cereals for their own needs. If the harvest was bad, then famine certainly resulted. Transport was non-existent, for there were no decent roads and no wheeled vehicles. Stock was difficult to keep alive throughout the winter as there was no turnip crop then. Again, there was much less intercourse or barter between nations.

The question now arises: Although these laws were in the Statute Book of Scotland prior to the Reformation, were they enforced locally? Fortunately the *Burgh Records* of Aberdeen are fairly well preserved, and various references are found to vagrants and poor people. Aberdeen seems to have suffered occasionally at the hands of marauding gipsies.

Burgh Records, 8th May, 1527:

> The said day, it was sufficientlie provin afor the baillies and a pairt of counsall, present for the tyme, be famouss diverss witnes, that the Egiptiens tuk out of Thomas Watsouns houss tua silver spounis, liand in the locker of ane schryne, quhilkis contenit ilk ane a wnce of silver quhair for thai chargit Eken Jaks, maister of the said Egiptiens, to deliver the said spouniss agane, or thane thair awaill, within XXIIII houris, becauss he ansuerit and come guid for his cumpany in jugement.

In 1540 numerous complaints were being made against the gipsies, and in February of that year they were expelled from the town.

Burgh Records, 21st February, 1540:

> The bailzeis charged George Faw, Egiptien and his brother, to remoif thameself their cumpany, and gudis of this toun, betuix this and Sonday nixt cummis, under all pane and charge that aftir ma follow.

(Faw or Fa is still the leading name among the Border gipsies.)

In the autumn of 1549 Aberdeen was stricken with plague, and beggars were more numerous than ever.

Burgh Records, 17th October, 1549:

> Item at thair be bot ane kirk dur of the parroche kirk oppin ilk day frathinfurth, during the tyme of this pest, and that the segrestar keep the same and that he lat na maner of purale enter in the kirk, bot to remane at the kirk dur and seik thair almous, under the pane of bannessing him the tounn and that all the puralis within this tounn be convenit be the han bell the morne in the kirk yard, and the bailzeis to pas and vesy and consider thame, and samony as tha find native to the tounn, to gif thame ane takin of the tounis armes to vair on thair breist, and charge all the laif that beis nocht admittit be the bailzeis, to remove them within XXIIII houris thairefter, under the pane of burning of thame with ane hett irne of the cheik, that beis fundit thairefter.

Pre-Reformation Poor Relief—Conclusion.

While we cannot but admire the splendid efforts on behalf of the poor, made by such noble churchmen as Bishop Dunbar, yet we can see grave defects in this system of relief. Doubtless the clergy did on the whole the best they could, so far as their understanding went, but their efforts lacked co-ordination and encouraged the professional beggar. This criticism applies to their system of "outdoor relief," and not to their hospital work. The clergy gave help without any regard to the possibility that others might be doing the same work in the same area. The almoner did not consider the true needs of the poor, but rather that almsgiving was to secure eternal life for the giver. It was a passport to salvation. This was the great weakness of the system. True charity must make its aim the raising of character. A free and easy bestowal of doles, which rests on no knowledge of the recipients, is no charity. True charity demands careful study of character and of personal

history, and patience to follow up any effort at help, until some lasting result has been produced.

Again, while the Church of the Middle Ages possessed a very large share of the wealth of a poor country, we find complaints recorded among the clergy of misuse and of corruption. Bellenden, the pious Archdeacon of Moray, admitted in 1533 that the endowments of the Church had brought no less damage of the common weal than of perdition of good religion. In short, wealth made for licence. Unfortunately we find considerable evidence of this in Aberdeen records. In 1464, William Shearer,[1] Provost of Aberdeen, in founding a chaplaincy, plainly stated that no chaplain who kept a mistress could hold his benefice: "Si contingat capellano aliquam concubinam vel focariam publicam detinere, seu tali publice adherere, donatio erit invalida." Hector Boece,[2] first Principal of King's College, stated that the monks of the Black Friars' Monastery had fallen from their original piety into almost every species of luxury and indulgence. The most glaring example of corrupted clergy in Aberdeen was the last Roman Catholic Bishop Gordon, a son of the Earl of Huntly, who by his immoral conduct brought upon himself the written condemnation of his own priests. The document is reprinted in the appendix of Bishop Keith's *History*.[3] Ten prebendaries signed this appeal to the bishop. They besought him to cause the clergy within his diocese to reform themselves in their living, and to put away their open concubines. They were bold enough to ask their bishop to show the example and send away his gentlewoman, since they could not be

[1] *Chartulary of St. Nicholas*, Fol. 6.

[2] Boetius *Scotorum Historia*, Fol. 284 (1575).

[3] Bishop Keith's *History*. "The counsel given by the Dean and Chapter of Aberdeen to My Lord Bishop of Aberdeen for stanching of heresies within the Diocese."

expected to accept correction from him who could not correct himself.

By such licentiousness the poor undoubtedly lost a share of their endowments, seeing that their share was the surplus or balance.

We noted how, towards the Reformation, the hospital of St. Peter gradually lost its valuable endowments at the hands of various bishops.

But we cannot blame the clergy for the plague of vagrants in Scotland in the 16th and 17th centuries. These bands of vagrants were found all over Europe, and the causes were much the same in all countries. There was manifestly lack of employment. The age was a time of transition, and old occupations were becoming unnecessary. The thirteenth century, and notably the peaceful reigns of Alexander II and III, had brought the Norman barons and Norman clergy to Scotland with their more advanced civilization. The nobles built their extensive Norman "mottes," or earth castles, and the clergy taught agriculture and various useful arts. Then came the long, lean years of war against the "auld enemy," England, and its Edwards. The barons employed the population to fight their private battles or the battles of the King. It was war, public or private, and service with great nobles that occupied most of the male population. But the sixteenth century saw a marked change. There were considerable intervals of peace. The central government, under the immediate control of the King, was strong enough to maintain order and keep the unruly barons in subjection. These barons no longer needed their many followers to fight their battles, and their retainers were thrown idle. Their training in war made them restless and unsettled, and they became the sturdy beggars of the sixteenth century.

We realise to-day, even with all our factories, how difficult it is to find employment for a large demobilised army. Already, too, sheep runs were taking the place of arable farms, and fewer country labourers were required, while industries and commerce had not yet begun to develop to any extent. In the last chapter of *Tales of a Grandfather*, Sir Walter Scott's Chieftain summed up the situation thus:

> When I was a young man, the point upon which every Highland gentleman rested his importance was the number of men whom his estate could support; the question next rested on the amount of his stock of black cattle; it is now come to respect the number of sheep, and I suppose our posterity will enquire how many rats and mice an estate will produce.

CHAPTER II

The Presbyterian Church System.

The Reformation in Aberdeen.

IT was in 1517 that Martin Luther first openly attacked the errors and the abuses of the Church of Rome. No doubt his famous Theses had found their way overseas to Aberdeen, for in 1521 the master of the Grammar School, John Marshall, was summoned to appear before the Provost for his contempt of the Church, and for being deficient in the doctrine that he taught.[1] Mr. Marshall boldly declared that he ceased to recognise the authority of the court of Rome, but was always "reddy to do thame and thair barnys service and plesour at his power." Two years later, "Master Johne Marschel, master of the gramar skull of Abirden, grantit in jugment that he had offendit to his masteris of the towne, and besoucht tham to pardone him," for his advanced opinions.[1] In 1525 Bishop Gavin Dunbar secured the help of the magistrates of the city, and of the sheriff of the county, to put into effect locally the legislation of James I against the "dampnable opinzeons of heresy spred in diverse contreis be the heretik Luther,"[1] etc.

In 1544, two citizens, Thomas Branch and Thomas Cussing, were committed for trial by the Earl of Huntly (brother of the licentious Bishop of Aberdeen), who had had himself elected Provost of Aberdeen, for the "hinging of the image of Sant Franceis."[2] Yet there

[1] *Burgh Records*, 13th Jan., 1521; 27th Nov., 1523; 14th Aug. 1525.

[2] *Burgh Records*, 1st Dec., 1544.

was no open rebellion in Aberdeen till 1560. The powerful Earl of Huntly championed the Roman Church, while King's College was a stronghold of the old faith. The Aberdonians seem to have been lukewarm over the new theology, until fanatical reformers came up from the south in search of plunder from the old Church.

> Certain Barons of the Mearns, partly through their hatred of the Catholic religion, partly in the hope of getting booty, despoiled the very fine monasteries of the Black and Carmelite Friars in Aberdeen, not only of their ornaments and fittings, but also, when certain Aberdonians came to the rescue, they killed them outright; and when they were about to destroy the monasteries of the Grey and Trinity Friars, their fury and madness were checked by Baron David Leslie of Balquhain, acting under the orders of the Earl of Huntly.[1]

In June, 1559, the chaplains of St. Nicholas Parish Church asked the Town Council to take and protect the chalices, silver work and ornaments of the church, affirming that " certane personis in to the southt partis of Scotland hes interpryssit at thair awin hands, without ony ordor or consent of the authoritie, to destroy kirks, religious places, and the ornaments and polacie of the same."[2]

On 11th March, 1559, the whole town agreed to take over the " croftis, howssis and place and biggings " of the Black and Carmelite Friars for the use of the town, the Provost, Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodels, and three other stout Romanists dissenting.[3]

The Earl of Huntly carried off all the valuables of the Cathedral to Huntly Castle. The Reformers seized large quantities of lead and wood work from all church and monastic buildings in the vicinity.

[1] Bishop Lesley's *De Origine*, page 563. Also *Burgh Records*, January, 1559.

[2] *Burgh Records*, 16th June, 1559.

[3] *Burgh Records*.

On 13th January, 1560, the citizens and magistrates together agreed to sell all the sacred ornaments, etc., of St. Nicholas Church, and to convert the remains of the monasteries and their endowments to public purposes. Provost Menzies again entered his dissent.[1]

With the downfall of the Church and of the monasteries, all organization on behalf of the poor was at an end. In particular, there was no monastic dole for the poor. Undoubtedly the condition of the poor was worsened temporarily. In fact, national legislation was found necessary in 1574. It is important to note that the properties and endowments of the old Church did not fall into the hands of the new Church, excepting some teinds. Knox is credited with saying of the Earl of Mar, that if the poor, the schools, and the ministers of the kirk had their own, his kitchen would be bereft of two parts and more of what he unjustly possessed. It is notable that sixty per cent. of the old castles in Aberdeenshire were built in this post-reformation period—with monies which the lairds secured in seizing the properties of the old Church, monies which Knox did try to secure for his new Church, and for his schemes of education and social reform in Scotland.

It was on the first day of January, 1558, that the famous "Beggars' Summonds" was affixed to the "gaittis and ports of all the Freiris places within this realme."[2] This summons was issued by the blind, the crooked, the bedridden, the widows, the orphans, and all unable to work, to all the friars within the country, calling upon the monks to remove themselves before Whitsunday from all the buildings and hospitals which they occupied, under penalty of being forcibly ejected.

[1] *Burgh Records.*
[2] *Works of Knox*, Book II, at the beginning.

"Let him that stole steal no more, but rather let him work with his hands, that he may be helpful to the poor."

In the *First Book of Discipline* instructions were issued to the new churches regarding the care of the poor. The teinds were continued, but were not to be exacted so harshly as before. Every church was ordered to provide for the poor within its parish.

[1] Every severall Kirk must provide for the poore within the self; for fearful and humble it is, that the poore, quhom nott onlie God the Father in his law, but Christ Jesus in his evangell and the Holie Spreit speaking by Sanct Paule, hath so earnestlie commended to oure cayre, ar universallie so contempted and dispysed. We ar nott patronis for stubborne and idill beggaris, quho rynning from place to place, mak a craft of thair beggyng, quhom the Civile Magistrat aucht to punyshe; but for the wedow and fatherless, the aiged, impotent, or laymed quho neather can nor may travell for their sustentatioun, we say, that God commandeth his pepill to be cairfull; and thairfor, for suche, as also for personis of honestie fallin in decay and penuritie, aucht suche provisioun be maid, that of oure aboundance should thair indigence be releaved. How this most convenientlie and most easilie may be done in everie citie, and uthir partis of this Realme, God shall schaw you wisdome and the meanis, so that your myndis be godlie thairto inclyned. All must not be suffered to beg that gladlie so wald do: neather yit most beggaris remane whare thei chuse; but the stout and strong beggar must be compelled to wirk and everie persoun that may nocht wirk, must be compelled to repair to the place whare he or scho was born (unles of long continuance thai have remaned in one place) an thair, reassonable provisioun must be maid for thair sustentatioun, as the Churche shall appoint. The ordour nor soumes in oure judgementis, can nott be particularlie appointed, unto suche tyme as the poore of every citie, toun, or parrishe, be compelled to repair to the places whaire thei war borne, or of thair residences, whaire thair names and nomber must be tackin and put in roll; and then may the wisdome of the Kirk appoint stipendis accordinglye.

Again, under the "sext heid, of the rentis and patrimony of the kirk":

The Gentilmen, Baronis, Earlis, Lordis and utheris, must be content to live upon thair just rentis, and suffer

[1] *Buke of Disciplins*, the fyft heid.

the Churche to be restorit to hir libertie, that in hir restitutioun, the poore, who heirtofore by the creuall Papistis have been spoilled and oppressit, may now resave sum confort and relaxatioun. . . . of the teyndis must not onlie the Ministeris be sustened, but also the Poore and Schollis. . . . For quhill that the Preist is Pensionare his idill bellye is delicatlie fed, the Poore, to whome a portioun of that appertenis was pyned with hunger . . . we think that all thingis doted to Hospitalitie, all annual rentis, both in burgh and land, perteanying to Preastis, Chanterie, Colledgeis, Chaplanryis, and to Freiris of all Ordouris, to the Sisteris of the Seanis, and to all utheris of that Ordour and suche utheris within this Realme, be receave still to the use of the Churche or Churches within the tounis or parrisheis whair thai war doted.

This was a very fine scheme for Scotland's poor in the sixteenth century, but it was never completely carried into effect. The Church's first concern was with difficulties of doctrine. First things had to come first, and meantime, apart from the teinds, the other extensive properties of the old Church were being rapidly appropriated by the lairds. The Reformers had first to set up a new machinery of organization to replace the bishops and their dioceses. Knox simply copied the scheme of John Calvin, and established the various Courts of his Church—Deacons' Court, Kirk Session, Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly. This careful distribution of authority made the Reformed Church the greatest power in the land. Its Courts were really representative, and therefore carried a moral weight that did not belong to Parliament. The first Kirk Session in Aberdeen was constituted in November, 1560, just nine months after the great upheaval. Its records are complete. We find that the first Protestant minister was Adam Heriott, an ex-friar of the Order of St. Augustine, of St. Andrews. Having renounced popery, he joined the "Congregation" at

Edinburgh, and on being approved for the ministry was sent to Aberdeen.[1]

"At Aberdeen," says Spottiswoode, "there lived divers addicted to the Roman profession. Heriott was learned in scholastic divinity, and for his moderation apt to reclaim men from their errors. Neither did he fail the hope conceived in him, for by his diligence in teaching schools and church he did gain all that people to the profession of the truth."[2] He was joyfully received by the citizens, and highly esteemed as a man and as a preacher. His stipend was fixed at £200 Scots, to be paid from the revenues of the town. The *Burgh Records* also have it that £30 Scots were spent annually for a new doublet, bonnet, and hose, all of black, and £10 Scots for house rent. This stipend was at the highest rate paid to ministers, except to Knox and the Superintendents.[3] Old Aberdeen was included temporarily in his parish, where he had as an "exhorter," John Erskine, who had a stipend of £40 Scots. The popish teachers held their posts in King's College till 1569, when they were ousted by the Superintendents of Angus and Mearns. James Lawson of Edinburgh was appointed Sub-Chancellor of King's College and minister of St. Machar parish, with a stipend of £100 Scots. The first Kirk Session in New Aberdeen consisted of Robert Lumsden, Duncan Forbes, George Middleton, David Marr, Patrick Rutherford, Alexander Chalmers, Gilbert Menzies, Gilbert Malison, Alexander Knowles, John Lowson, David Menzies, David Low, Gilbert Kentor, George Lyall; the Deacons were John Tullidaff, John Leslie, Thomas Branch, Henry Spence, Alexander Litster, Patrick Gray, Robert

[1] Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland* (1668), page 274.
[2] *Burgh Records*, 25th Nov., 1560.
[3] *Register of Ministers, etc.* (Maitland Club), page 63.

Richardson, and Thomas Fynn, clerk. The Provost was Thomas Menzies.

In 1564, at the request of the General Assembly of the Church, Knox paid a visit to Aberdeen and the neighbouring churches. This visit lasted six or seven weeks, in August and September.[1] No doubt, as a result of this visit, the town set itself to consider the question of poor relief.[2]

> The said day (23/1/1565) the haill toun, burgessis and craftismen, being warnit, etc., the mater concerning the provisioun for the puir being opinlie declarit to thame be the baillies and minister, and the act of parliament maid thairanent being publictlie red in all thair audience, and the puir being devydit in four rankis, to vit, in babis, decayit persones, houshaldaris, leamit and impotent personis, and sic as war decrepit and auld, borne and bred within this burght, at the leist that hes maid thair commoun resort and residence within the same be the space of thir sevin yeris bypast, thay all in ane voce but ony oppositioun or contradictioun, following first Goddis commandement and nixt the directioun of the said act of parliament, grantit, agreit and consentit, ilk man frielie and voluntarlie voting be him selff, according to the ordour of the suit roll, sum to receave in thair houssis ane baib and lykwayis to pay contributioun for help and support of the remanent puir of the rankis forsaidis, borne and bred within this toun, or at the leist quha hes maid residence within the same be the space foresaid, utheris to contribut; and ilk man voting be himseelff, grantit to pay the contributioun sett doun in the roll maid this day for ane yeir, to be payit quarterlie, with provisioun that the magistrattis tak sic substantious ordour anent the expelling of extranear beggaris, idill and vagabond persones, furth of this burght, as the said act of parliament prescryvis, and that the purell of the rankis forsaids be contenit within houssis, helpit be the commoun contributioun, and nocht sufferit to cum to the streittis, houssis or yettis of this burght, to seik almous; and according to the said voting, ilk man speking be him selff as said is, the roll was instantlie sett doun, and sic as everie man grantit be his awin mouth wreittin, and the babis delyverit to sic as was content to receave tham, the receaveris name with the babis name wreittin lykwayes.

[1] McCrie, *Life of John Knox*, vol. ii, page 310.
[2] *Burgh Records*, 23rd Jan., 1565.

The Acts referred to above would be those of 1503 and 1535 (*vide* Chapter I). But the citizens of Aberdeen were doing far more than the Acts compelled them to do. Here we have them reasoning together with their minister and agreeing voluntarily to contribute to the maintenance of the poor in accordance with their means and substance. (This old method of assessment is being seriously suggested to-day instead of the present assessment on rent, not only for the poor, but for all other rating purposes. At present a married man with many children, requiring a large house, pays heavily for the poor. A bachelor with means, and with no house, probably pays very little, and that indirectly.) We note in particular that the Church and Town Council are co-operating in this public work. Little by little we shall find that the new Protestant Church will assume all the responsibilities of the pre-Reformation Church anent the poor. Unfortunately the citizens seem to have wearied in well-doing, for in 1572 another method of relieving the poor was devised by the Town Council—this time a systematic canvassing and collecting from the citizens.[1]

> It is statut and ordanit anent the support of the puir folkis, that tua honest men of ilk quarter of the towne, pass thair tyme about ouklie, through the haill toune, and collek sik almes of ewery personne as God will move thair hartis to gif at thair plesour; and the samen to be delyverit to the generall collectour thairof, quhilks generall collectour sal be chosin everie ratht and the same to be disponit and distributit ilk moneth be the awyss of the minister and haill consall, to honest dekayit personis and puir folkis bred and borne within the toune and to na utheris.

Again in 1574 a further attempt was made to provide for the poor by voluntary contribution.[2]

> The said day, the haill toune being warnit be the hand bell to this day, quhairupoune the belman maid faytht,

[1] *Burgh Records*, 12th Jan., 1572.
[2] *Burgh Records*, 15th Nov., 1574.

and being convenit for the maist pairt, and representand the haill body of the toune, grantit and consentit to gif ane uiklie support and almus to the puir folkis borne and bred within this toune, and that to be collectit uiklie be ane of the elderis or decanis of the kirk, and deliverit in keiping to the minister, to be distributit ilk monetht be the ordinance and discretioune of the assembly; and everie man to gif uiklie according to the roll maid obefoir witht thair awin consentis, except thai quha plesis to augment thair promeis, and utheris quhilkis maid na promeis nor ar contenit in the said roll, quhilk particularlie sall be uptane to the effect forsaid; and ordanis all beggaris not borne and bred withtin this toune to be remuffit of the samen, and the puir folkis induellaris to wayr the townis takyn on the utter garmountht, quhairby thai may be knawin; and ordanis the bred silver quhilk was collectit ilk Sonday obefoir to the puir to be applyit in furtht upon the reparatioune of Sanct Nicolas paroche kirk.

We note that the elders and deacons of the Church are assuming a larger measure of the responsibility of relieving the poor, and further that the church collections had been used for the relief of the poor. In the rural parishes, where no body existed corresponding to the Town Council, the elders and deacons were the sole relieving agents.

From these repeated efforts in Aberdeen we can safely conclude that Scotland all over was experiencing difficulty in dealing with its numerous poor folk. In fact, national legislation, written down in considerable detail, was necessary in 1574. Such national legislation is likewise proof that Royalty was conscious of increased power and ability to impose its will upon the whole unit of the nation.

CHAPTER III

The First Constructive Legislation for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland, 1574 and 1579.

THE first Poor Law Act was passed in 1574, while James VI was still only eight years old, and Morton was the stern Regent of Scotland. The legislators, while fully aware of what the Reformed Church was attempting, had evidently made themselves acquainted with the Poor Law Act which had been passed in England in 1572. The Scottish Act of 1574 was amended in 1579, and these two statutes may be said to have laid the basis of the present parochial poor relief system. It is interesting to note that the Act of 1579 was repealed only in 1906 upon the recommendation of the Statute Law Revision Committee. The Act in its amended form of 1579 was entitled " For punishment of strang and idle beggars, and reliefe of the pure and impotent." The preamble admitted that the previous legislation for the suppression of beggars had not been put into due execution on account of the iniquity and troubles of the times. In the very first clause—

> It is thocht expedient, statute and ordained alsweill for the utter suppression of the saidis strang and idle beggers, sa contageous enimies to the commoun weill,—they sall be apprehended,—brocht befoir the Provest and Baillies within the burgh, and in everie parochin to Landwart, befoir him that sall be constitute Justice be the Kingis Commission, to be committed in waird in the commoun prison, stokkes or irons . . . to be put to the knawledge of ane Assise, and gif they happen to be convicted, to bee adjudged to be scourged and burnt throw the eare, with ane hote iron.

One option was allowed, namely, that the beggar find a master and work for him for one year.

> Gif hee be founden to be fallen againe in his idle and vagabound trade of life, he sall be adjudged and suffer the paines of death as a thief.

The term "beggars" included wandering jugglers, Egyptians (gipsies), charmers, fortune-tellers, all who told lies about banishment or suffering, all without masters or occupation, all minstrels and story-tellers without employer, all common labourers fleeing labour, all beggars unlicensed, or with counterfeit tokens, all wandering scholars from St. Andrews, Glasgow or Aberdeen Universities, not licensed by the Rector or Dean of the Faculty to beg (Edinburgh University was not yet established), and all so-called ship-broken mariners. It was likewise unlawful to give money, harbour, or lodging to such beggars under penalty of a fine to be paid on behalf of the poor of the parish. So much for the beggars.

The Lord Chancellor was instructed to look to the condition of the hospitals with a view to restoring them as in pre-Reformation times, as might best serve for the help and relief of the aged, impotent, and poor people.

Each parish was ordered to make a register of the poor, impotent, and decayed persons that had been born in it, or who had resided seven years in it as a common resort. All poor people had to return within forty days to their parish of chargeability. We note here the fixing of settlement by residence of seven years.

The provost and baillies in the towns, and the sheriff in landward parts of the country—

> Sall taxe and stent the haill inhabitantes within the parochin, according to the estimation of their substance without exception of persones, to sik ouklie charge and contribution as sall be thocht expedient and sufficient to

susteine the saidis pure peopill. And the names of the inhabitantes stented togidder with their taxation to bee likewise registrate: and at the end of the yeir that the taxation and stent roll be alwayes maid of new, for the alteration that may be throw death, or be increes or diminution of mennes guddes and substance.

For the local administration of the Act, the provost and baillies and the sheriff appointed overseers and collectors in every burgh and parish, to collect and receive the tax weekly, and to deliver so much of it to the poor people as the magistrates or sheriff ordered. Refusal of office by those chosen to be collectors was punishable by fine, and refusal to pay the tax was punishable by imprisonment.

The method of removing poor persons to their proper parish was rather primitive. The local authority gave such folks a permit to beg alms all their way to their destination. For refusing to proceed to, or to stay in, their proper parish they were severely punished. They were not allowed to stay two nights at any stopping-place *en route*, unless sickness or storm impeded them. (In England to-day in some counties the way-ticket system is in vogue, permitting the man out of work to proceed from one casual ward to another.)

The clause regarding the disposal of a poor person's children was rather cruel. If any beggar's bairn was over five and under fourteen years, and if it was wanted by any subject of the realm of honest estate, then the child was handed over by the authorities to that person, to work to the age of twenty-four if a boy, and to twenty-eight if a girl.

Provision had to be made out of the weekly tax to feed the many beggars that would fill the prisons when the Act came into operation. Each beggar was to receive daily one pound of oatcakes, with water to drink.

And now we come to the last clause, which was the great weakness of the Act, and proved the loophole through which the unstable local authorities escaped from the working of the Act.

> And quhair collecting of money may not be had, and that it is over great ane burding to the Collectours, . . . sa many of the saidis pure people . . . sall aske and gadder the charitable almes. That nane bee thoiled to begge in ane parochin, that ar borne in ane uther. That the headesmen of ilk parochin make takinnes, and give to the beggares theirof, that they may bee susteined within the boundes of that parochin.

Yet here we have the beginnings of the Poor Laws of Scotland, namely, a settlement by birth or by residence for seven years (now three years), machinery for registering the poor, an assessment for the poor, and officials to collect and distribute the money (our modern parish collectors of rates and inspectors of poor), and a rather harsh and inexpensive way of boarding-out poor children. We must admit that this legislation is worthy of great praise, as it appears to us on paper. It is essentially democratic, but, unfortunately, the machinery for its execution proved woefully defective. The Act was in advance of the times. Civilization was growing more slowly in Scotland than in England. Although the Act was reiterated by Parliament very frequently, we are going to find that very soon its administration will fall into the hands of the Church, and the relief of the poor, ceasing to be a legal obligation upon all, will once again be a care to the Church and to voluntary effort.

CHAPTER IV

The Reformed Church Becomes the Local Poor Law Authority.

THE Act of 1579 was evidently not being put into effective operation, for another Act was passed in 1592 "for punishment of maisterfull beggares, and reliefe of the puir."

> And because sum of the Schireffedomes ar of wide and lang boundes, quhair-throw it will be difficil to convoy vagaboundes, and persones offending, to the commoun prisones of the head burrowes of the schire, . . . gif the saidis Schireffes or utheris judges ordinar, beis found remisse or negligent, gives and grantis full power, charge and authoritie to the ministers, elders, and deacons within the boundes of everie parochin, or of samonie parochines as will concur togidder to nominate and elect ane, twa, three or maa persones of the best habilitie, zeale, and discretion, within the same parochin or boundes quhom his Hienesse makis and constitutis Justices and Commissioners in that parte . . . to execute the said act of Parliament 1579 . . . to be put in execution in all partes of the realme as it hes alreadie tane effect, within the partes of the burgh of Edinburgh.[1]

Five years later, in 1597, a further amending Act provided that—

> Starke beggers and their bairnes, bee employed in commoun warkes: and their service mentioned in the act of Parliament 1579, to bee prorogate, induring their lifetimes; and in place of several commissions in Landward, to be granted be the King, for execution of the said act, the power thereof to be granted to the particular session of the kirk.[2]

Henceforth until 1845 the relief of the poor in landward parishes was a Church duty and an ecclesiastical

[1] *Act of Parliament*, page 312.
[2] *Act of Parliament*, page 357.

organization. The giving of alms had always been inculcated by the Church of Scotland, and begging was most commonly done in the neighbourhood of the church. The taxing of the parishioners was a new thing for the Church to undertake; yet the Session was a body well qualified to know with fair accuracy the "means and substance" of each parishioner. In towns the Church continued to have the help of the town councils. The old subscription lists compiled before 1579 in Aberdeen would be at their disposal. Each elder would see to it that his neighbour's substance was not under-estimated. In the landward parishes, however, a tax was very rarely resorted to. The Kirk Session, however, seems to have failed to solve the problem of the "maisterfull beggares," for in 1600 the Presbyteries were ordered by Act of Parliament to help "the Sessions of the kirk to put the saidis acts to full and due execution."[1] This plan likewise failed, and in 1617 the task of punishing beggars was taken away from the Church authorities altogether. By this time James VI of Scotland was King of England, and in England he found that certain gentlemen called "Justices of the Peace" and "Constables" exercised authority throughout the land. In 1609 he ordained for Scotland that—

> In every schyre within this kingdome there shall be yearlie appoynted by his Majestie some godlie wyse and vertuous gentlemen of good qualitie, moyen, and report, making residence within the same, . . . to be commissioners for keeping his Majesties peace . . . to try and prevent all sik occasions as may breed trouble and violence, etc.[2]

In 1617 the duties of the Justices were more accurately defined, and one of these twenty-eight duties

[1] *Acts of Parliament*, page 372.
[2] *Acts of Parliament*, page 399.

was to deal with and punish sturdy beggars.[1] This was a great relief to the Kirk Sessions. The Justices were directed to appoint in each parish at least two constables (to be punished themselves if they refused to act), who were to arrest all vagabonds, sturdy beggars and Egyptians, and bring them before the nearest Justice of the Peace. Now the Kirk Session had merely to deal with the resident and admitted poor.

By a new Act " anent the poor " in 1617, the powers of the Session to deal with the children of poor parents were extended. The increase in the number of beggars was attributed to the fact that the children of the poor were allowed to grow up without employment, and to become beggars themselves. Such children were now to be bound by the Kirk Session to good masters up to the age of thirty. Whatever they might earn as wages, would become the property of their masters.[2]

The Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen and the *Burgh Records* of this period throw considerable light upon our subject. The Session, for example, had charge of St. Thomas's Hospital (the city hospital) and the Leper Hospital, for

> David Cargill is electit and chosin maister of Sanct Thomas Hospitale within this burgh, as also of the hospitall betuixt the townis, for the yeir to cum.[3]

The co-operation of Kirk Session and Town Council is clear from the following entry:

> Nane sall sett or latt any housse to any stranger puir longer nor a nicht at fardest; and that thay keip the kirk and ludge nor interteine no stranger puir, under the panis alreddie prescryvit be the magistrattis and counsall.[4]

[1] *Acts of Parliament*, page 422.
[2] *Acts of Parliament*, page 430.
[3] *Kirk Session Records*, 22nd May, 1578.
[4] *Kirk Session Records*, 24th July, 1604.

In the same year the Session ordained:

> That na beggaris be sufferit to sitt in the kirkyard in tyme cuming on the Saboth day, bot that they all be compellit to cum in to the sermones, both afoir and efter none, and nawayes permittit to sitt in the kirkyard to beg, in tyme of sermone, as they wer wount to do of defoir.[1]

Four years later further action was necessary to clear away the crowds of beggars:

> Great disordour fallis out on the Saboth and ulk dayes in tyme of preching and prayeris, at the Kirk durris and in the kirk yard, be occasioun that a great numer of beggaris sittis in the kirkyard and at the kirk durris, beggand thairat, and stryves frequentlie about thair almes gevin thame, quhilk breidis not only a tumult amagis thame, bot thay ban and blaspheme the name of God verie bitterlie, to the great greiff of the heraris and sklander of the congregatioun; for remeid quhairof, it is statute and ordainit, that no beggar be sufferit to sit at the kirk durris nor in the kirkyard in ony tyme cumming in tyme of preching or prayeris, bot that thay be expellit and haddin out of the kirkyard the tyme forsaid, except thay cum in to the kirk to the hering of the word; and gif ony be fund repyning to this ordinance, to be put in prisoun in the kirk wolt; and the kirk officier and his servand ar ordanit to caus this act be kepit, and to put the same to scharp executioun, but exceptioun of persones.[2]

At the same time the church treasurer was ordered to pay two marks weekly to each of the two men employed to keep the stranger poor out of the town. One of these was found guilty later of taking bribes from the stranger poor to admit them to the town. He was dismissed from his office.

In 1613 the Kirk Session lamented that the poor were increasing in numbers daily by reason of the scarcity of food, and it made an overture to the Town Council that a voluntary contribution should be craved throughout the town on behalf of the poor, or alternatively, that the Town Council should devise some better method of raising funds.[3] Already it would seem that even in cities the

[1] *Kirk Session Records*, 23rd Dec., 1604.
[2] *Kirk Session Records*, 21st Aug., 1608.
[3] *Kirk Session Records*, 24th Feb., 1613.

legal tax, authorized by the Act of 1579, had fallen into desuetude, or had probably never been exacted. The overture had no practical result. In 1616, matters were no better with regard to beggars, and once more they were banned from the churchyard.[1]

> The samen day, the magistrattis and sessioun ordanit intimatioun to be maid out of pulpitt, that na beggeris get any almes within this burgh, except sic as bearis the townis taikine; and intimatioun to be maid also heirof be the drum, that the towne may be purgeit of extranear beggeris, And that the townis awin puir may be the better helpit and susteanit.[2]

In 1618 the Kirk Session and Magistrates together issued another edict:

> For the better help of the poore, that tua of the magistrattis stand at the end of ewerie tabill in both the kirkis the tyme of the ministratioun of the holie communioun, and demand of ewerie communicant at thair ryising from the tabill, sume almes to the poore according to the forme obserwit in reformit congregatiounes in the south pairtis of this realme; and the said contributioun to be delyverit to the collectour of the sessioun, and he to be chargit thairwith in his comptis.[3]

Here we have the interesting origin of the present church custom that all collections on Communion Sundays go to the necessitous members of the congregation. Most churches, too, of the present day have office-bearers standing by the collecting "plate" at the door. Here is the origin of this, too:

> It is thocht meit and expedient for the furtherance of the commoun contributiones at the kirk durris for the support of the poore, etc., that the baillies, counsall and eldaris, with utheris of the most honest rank of persones within this burgh, sall stand at the kirk durris per vices, . . . to collect the voluntar contributioun of the inhabitants.[4]

At this time, too, the Kirk Session laid down definite

[1] *Kirk Session Records*, 18th Feb., 1616.
[2] *Kirk Session Records*, 10th Mar., 1616.
[3] *Kirk Session Records*, 22nd Mar., 1618.
[4] *Kirk Session Records*, 25th Oct., 1620.

rules regarding the administration of relief to the poor.[1] These may be summarised thus:

1. Four deacons were appointed in turn weekly to distribute the money among the poor on Mondays after prayers, "to saiff thame from begging." The poor were all first catechised by the lay reader of the church and "instructit ouklie in the groundis of Christiane faith and religioun."

2. The poor had to attend divine service in church every day: three consecutive absences deprived them of their week's allowance.

3. They must not resort to begging.

4. They must not receive nor entertain any person at all, rich nor poor, stranger nor townsman, without the permission of the magistrates, under penalty of being banished from the town, and deprived of their allowance for ever.

5. A conviction for swearing deprived them of allowance for one week. A second offence deprived them of allowance for ever, and brought upon their persons some corporal punishment as well.

We are not a little astonished at such stern treatment of the poor at the hands of the Christian Church in Aberdeen; but when we consider the numbers and the lawlessness of the beggars of the time, we realise that such sternness was a matter of necessity.

We might now summarise the sources from which the Church drew its funds at this time for the support of the poor:[2]

1. From the church door collections.

2. From donations made by individuals to the church on behalf of the poor. (See *Mortifications*, Chapter XVI.)

[1] *Kirk Session Records*, 24th June, 1621.
[2] *Kirk Session Records*, passim (1560-1638).

3. From hiring out a hearse with a mortcloth or pall. The Aberdeen Kirk Session decided in 1642 that these would no longer be hired out until the fees were paid. For the year 1712, mention is made that the fees amounted to £250 Scots.

4. From the interest of monies lent. For example, we find that in 1639 the Kirk Session was able to make a loan to the Town Council.

5. From the rents of mortified lands and house properties.

6. From fees at marriages, baptisms, and burials.

7. From fines imposed by different old statutes. For example, penalties for resetting vagabonds, Act 1579, cap. 74; for profanation of the Sabbath, Act 1579, cap. 70; and later on for irregular and clandestine marriages, Acts 1661, cap. 34, and 1698, cap. 6; for acting plays without a licence, Act 10 Geo. II, cap. 28. An Act of 1621, cap. 14, provided that if anyone won at cards, racing, or dicing, more than one hundred marks in one day, he was to pay the surplus to the Kirk Session for the support of the poor. At the present day fines for poaching and other minor offences are not infrequently handed over to the Inspector of Poor. A curious and altogether unique case occurred in Aberdeen recently, in which fines imposed upon persons for leaving a train while in motion were handed over to the Inspector of Poor in Aberdeen.

8. And lastly, and by no means the least important source, from fines imposed by the Kirk Session for breaches of church discipline. The Aberdeen *Kirk Session Records* are full of examples of this kind. We have to remember that the Church was established by law and endowed with secular authority and power to punish what we now regard as moral offences. In fact, the Kirk Session had formidable power within the parish, and

made use of it for the advantage of the poor. Common offences mentioned in the Aberdeen records are: Sabbath-breaking by trading or playing on the links, divorce, non-attendance at church, drinking, slander, being a papist, swearing, and the graver moral offences. Punishments, usually in addition to fines, were: public repentance in church for several successive Sundays on the stool of repentance, excommunication, banishment from the parish, exposure in the jougs (iron neckrings) at the Market Cross, and imprisonment in the church prison. The owner of a dog which entered the church was fined four shillings Scots for each offence. For non-attendance at church the fine was six shillings and eightpence, which sum has still a legal ring about it. In 1630 Margaret Davidson was fined five pounds Scots for washing her child in St. Fittick's Well, Torry, in order to restore the child's health.[1] James Hall, a shoemaker, was fined twenty marks for seeking relief from his fevers from a charmer named Innes. For women appearing in church with their plaids about their heads in an unseemly fashion, the fine was thirteen shillings and fourpence for the wife of a burgess, and half that sum for the wife of a craftsman. Elders and deacons, too, were fined for non-attendance at meetings of the Kirk Session and Deacons' Court.

These sources of revenue, then, were made to suffice for the needs of the poor in most parishes. Only in large centres of population had a voluntary contribution from the inhabitants to be resorted to as occasion arose. This voluntary contribution was the affair of the Town Council, and in the *Burgh Records* of Aberdeen mention is made of it from time to time. In 1596 the Council appointed four collectors to gather in the "voluntar

[1] *Kirk Session Records*, 28th Nov., 1630.

contributioun and taxatioun grantit to the help of the puir"; John Ferguson, Jr. for the Green quarter; Alexander Burnett for the Footdee quarter; Patrick Skene for the Cruikit quarter; and Andrew Knowles for the Evin quarter.[1] In 1619 the whole town was summoned to the Tolbooth to meet the Town Council and the Kirk Session to take counsel together about the poor. Begging was rife again, and the Town Council and Kirk Session had made a roll of the beggars. In addition to the funds raised by the church, the sum of £1,000 Scots was required annually, this being about one-half of the total cost of maintenance. The citizens agreed that a tax be imposed in proportion to their worldly goods, and tax-assessors were appointed from among themselves, who took an oath to levy the tax fairly, the tax to be paid in two parts, half-yearly. Alone Thomas Menzies entered his dissent, desiring to support the method of a voluntary contribution.[2] On 10th April, 1621, the whole town was again summoned to the Tolbooth. The Provost congratulated the townsmen on the success of their self-imposed tax for the poor, as agreed upon in 1619.[3] For three years all the poor in the town had been maintained and kept from begging by reason of the aliment paid to them weekly. Not only were the poor contented, but the principles of the Poor Law Acts had been successfully put into execution in Aberdeen, to the glory of God, to the comfort of the poor, and to the credit of the town. The Provost, therefore, wished to know if this method of providing for the poor, so godly, so charitable, so fair, and so successful, would be continued in years to come, and if the citizens would be willing to be taxed for £1,000 Scots as in the years past. The

[1] *Burgh Records*, 28th Jan., 1596.
[2] *Burgh Records*, 4th June, 1619.
[3] *Burgh Records*, 10th April, 1621.

citizens agreed unanimously to be taxed, and to pay half-yearly at Martinmas and Whitsunday in equal halves. They agreed, further, that this method be continued for twenty-one years, and that assessors of taxes be appointed annually. The payment of arrears as from 4th June, 1619, was to be enforced three days after a new notice was served, and in future payment in accordance with the tax-roll was to be enforced.

From the Reformation, then, up to the beginnings of the Civil War in 1638, we find that persistent efforts were made to improve the condition of the poor. This was a period of comparative peace, and peace is essential for the economic and social uplifting of a nation. Sir Thomas Craig, writing soon after the Union of the Crowns (1603), said that Scotland was quite prosperous.[1]

> Fewer of her people die of starvation than is the case in England, France, or Italy. If we are able to subsist on food most ready to our mouths, our frugal wants should gain for us the loudest praise from all right-thinking men. There is no country in which a man can live more pleasantly and delicately than in Scotland. Nowhere else are fish so plentiful. We have meat of every kind. Nowhere else will you find more tender beef and mutton, or wildfowl more numerous. Though we have less money, we console ourselves with the reflection that if our means are small, our needs are small also. We do not mind our neighbours sneering at our lack of wealth, for wealth and material resources are not everything; otherwise we should long ago have lost our liberty and fallen under the dominion of the English.

Sir Thomas Craig favoured a union of Parliaments with England, with a view to increasing trade and commerce in Scotland. This view proved the correct one, although it did not find acceptance until 1707. Certain it is that during the reign of James I of England, and part of the reign of Charles I, trade and commerce made considerable progress in Scotland. Scotland enjoyed a

[1] Quoted from Rait's *History of Scotland*, page 203.

period of peace. To stimulate local efforts on behalf of the poor, the Scottish Privy Council in 1623 tried to induce the Justices to secure a better local administration of the Poor Laws. It urged the Justices to see that vagrants were apprehended, and that a tax was being levied for the poor. A typical reply was made by the Justices of Haddington and Lothian. They doubted if a simple proclamation were a sufficient warrant for them to impose a tax upon every man; every contribution was odious and smelt of a taxation, and they could not undertake to proceed with it, as it was a matter beyond their capacity. The Justices of Edinburgh said there were no jails in the parishes capable of containing one-tenth part of all the beggars. Most justices reported that it was best for each Kirk Session to tax its own parishioners. In a word, the burden of the poor relief was laid entirely upon the Kirk Session in rural parts, and the Kirk Sessions were not disposed to turn tax-collectors. The Kirk Session of Banff in 1624, after a visit from the Presbytery, promised to attend to their poor, and to put vagrant beggars in the thieves' hole until the magistrate had time to come and see them scourged.

CHAPTER V

Economic Conditions in Scotland and Legislation for the Poor, 1638-1844.

THE following table of population is taken from the Statistical Account of Aberdeen, 1843, compiled by the ministers of the city from all available sources:

Year.	Population.	Year.	Population.
1396	2,977	1755	15,730
1572	4,000	1801	27,608
1581	5,833	1811	35,370
1592	7,301	1821	44,796
1615	7,805	1831	58,019
1633	8,000		
1643	8,750	1911	163,891
1708	5,556	1921	158,969

The population shows a gradual increase except during the seventeenth century. What is the reason for the huge decrease, nearly fifty per cent., between 1643 and 1708? We have but to recall the long continued struggle in Scotland between the Scottish Church and Kings Charles I and II. King Charles I tried to impose upon the Scottish Church a new ritual and a new constitution. The grandson of Mary Stuart certainly failed to understand the Scottish people. The signing of the National Covenant was a revolt against the King's Bishops and their Episcopalian church government. The Scottish Covenanters took to arms, and joined themselves to the English Protestants by the Solemn League and Covenant, to establish a uniform doctrine in their churches based upon the Westminster Standards.

Right on until 1688 Scotland was torn asunder by Church disputes. The struggle between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism was waged with cruelty and fanaticism on both sides. Finally, in 1690, came the re-establishment of Presbytery by Parliament, and along with that, liberty of conscience. Cromwell's Union of Scotland and England did not last long enough to allow of much economic recovery. At the Restoration, in 1660, Scottish overseas trade suffered severely by the operation of the English Navigation Act, by which the Scottish merchant fleet was severely handicapped and laid idle for certain overseas trade. Then Aberdeen was very badly hit when war broke out between Holland and England, for Aberdeen's largest trade was with the Netherlands. After the Revolution in 1688 there was some industrial enterprise in the manufacture of soap, cloth and paper, and in the refining of sugar, but the closing years of the century brought renewed distress and poverty in Scotland. The years 1693 to 1699 are known in Scottish history as the "seven ill years" or the "barren years," by reason of their cold springs and wet summers. The same distress was prevalent in Europe, and no export of grain was permitted from England. How very hard the times were in Scotland may be gathered from the fact that all distillation of grain was prohibited. Many parishes were nearly depopulated, and farms remained unoccupied for several years after. The Bank of Scotland was founded in 1695, but with the failure of the Darien Scheme, business received a set-back. "Scotland," said Fletcher, "has now a greater venture at sea than at any time since we have been a nation. I may well say that all our hopes of ever being any other than a poor and inconsiderable people, are embarked with them. The nation is so generally concerned in this Indian Trade, that the ruin

of it, which God forbid, may very probably draw along with it, that of the whole trade of the kingdom, and a perpetual discouragement from ever attempting anything considerable hereafter." When the crash came, Scotland was glad to accept terms of Union with England, along with full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation. Then the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 against the Hanoverian Dynasty caused temporary dislocation of industry and commerce, but thereafter trade in Scotland never ceased to expand. Wars abroad, chiefly against the French, at the beginning, middle, and end of the 18th century, caused increases in the cost of living, but Scotland had no further internal dislocation of trade and industry by the ravages of armed forces.

The unsettled condition of Scotland in the seventeenth century was reflected in the small amount of legislation enacted for the poor. In the midst of civil war there is no time and no money for social reforms. In 1625 an important missive was sent by the King to the Estates anent the poor. It lamented that in spite of all that had been enacted the poor still went begging through the country, so that the subjects could not pass for their importunity and pitiful crying, to the great scandal and shame of the nation. It continued, that many who had ever been beggars from their youth and being begotten in beggary, never had any residence at all, and so had no parish to resort to, should be put on a roll and divided up among the parishes *pro rata*, as if they had been born therein. Secondly, the Kirk Sessions were instructed to set down a stent upon each farmer and householder according to his worth, either in victuals or in money, and relieve the poor weekly, power being given to the constable to exact payment if need be.

Although the Privy Council got orders to put this

missive into force, there are no traces of its execution in the parish records consulted.

Once more, in 1649, practically the same orders were issued, with this addition, that those proprietors who dealt rigorously with their tenants and so reduced them to beggary should be the more heavily taxed. In the period 1649-1660 there is no trace of the local execution of these orders.

In 1660 Charles II was restored to the Crown, and his first Scottish Parliament met in Edinburgh in 1661. For the establishment of law and order there were issued a "Commission and Instructions to the Justices of the Peace and to the Constables," expounding and elaborating the Act of 1617, as was doubtless necessary after a long period of disorder. The Justices were ordered, among other things, to appoint in each parish two Overseers of the Poor, to make a roll of the poor, to find housing for them, and to see to the collecting of money for their maintenance. The Act of 1617 against vagrants must be rigorously applied.

It is curious that there is no mention at all of the Kirk Session. Nicholl[1] conjectures "that the powers conferred on the Kirk Sessions in regard to the poor, had, in the period of civil strife which intervened, fallen into disuse." We cannot imagine that this is true. For Brereton, who visited Edinburgh in 1636, says, "Good provision is here made by the deacons, the church officers for the poor, a collection and contribution every Lord's day before sermon, etc."[2] Might this not just be, on the part of Charles I and his advisers, an attempt to ignore Presbyterianism? Certainly there was no change in Church Law to withdraw these powers from the Kirk

[1] *History of Poor Law in Scotland*, page 60.
[2] *Early Travellers in Scotland*, Hume Brown, page 145.

Sessions. It is doubtful if these powers of the Overseers of the Poor were ever exercised.[1]

With the peace of the Restoration textile manufactures began to make some progress, and it was thought a good thing to give to those who floated companies the advantage of the forced labour of idle vagrants.[2]

> It shall be leisum to all persons or societies who have or shall set up any manufactories within this kingdom to seize upon and apprehend the persons of any vagabonds, who shall be found begging, or who being masterless and out of service, have not wherewith to maintain themselves . . . and to employ them for their service as they shall see fit . . . and ordains the paroches, where such persons were born, or in case the place of their nativity be not known, the paroches where they have any residence, haunt, or some resort for the space of three years immediately preceding their being so apprehended, who thereby are relieved of the burden of them, to make payment to the persons or societies that shall happen to employ them two shillings Scots money per diem for the first year . . . and one shilling Scots money per diem for the next three years thereafter . . . the one half to be paid by the heritors and the other half to be paid by the inhabitants upon the ground of each heritor, respectively.

The poor vagabonds had to serve not merely these four years, but seven years thereafter "for meat and cloath only."

By this Act Parliament tried to attain two objects, namely, to foster the rising industries, and to set the beggars to work. Again we find no trace of the execution of this Act in freedom-loving Scotland,[3] yet by this Act the present-day legislation was affected in two important ways.

1. Here we see the origin of the present system of

[1] *Law of Scotland regarding the Poor*, A. M. Dunlop, 1854, page 16.

[2] Act of 1663, cap. 52.

[3] Verified by Dunlop, *Law of Scotland regarding the Poor*, page 19.

assessment for the poor, one-half on owners, and one-half on occupiers.

2. The parish of chargeability was fixed by birth *or by three years' residence* in any parish. The period for settlement by residence was altered to seven by the Act of 1698, to five by the Act of 1845, and to three by the Act of 1898.

In 1672 an " Act for Establishing Correction Houses for Idle Beggars and Vagabonds " was passed. It commenced with the usual lament about the increasing numbers of beggars and the failure of all the good laws made for them, " because there hath been no place provided wherein such poor people might be set to work." Accordingly the magistrates of the thirty-two principal burghs were ordered to build " Correction Houses " of the type provided in England by the Acts 43 of Elizabeth and 7 of James I. Beggars were to be set to work till the age of 30. Each house was to have a large close, where the inmates could take fresh air. The expense of building and management was to be borne by the parishes who were relieved of their idle beggars, 2 shillings Scots per diem per person for one year, and one shilling per diem for the next three years, and after this period of training the beggars would work for seven more years for nothing. The whip or other punishment could be inflicted, but not torture. In the *Scottish Poor Laws* (page 34) Lamond says, " Only three such houses were ever established in Scotland." Dunlop (page 20) and Monypenny (page 28) affirm that no such houses were ever erected. Certain it is that in 1695, during the " seven ill years," this Act was ordained to be put in full and rigorous execution in all burghs. We have still in Aberdeen a " Correction Wynd," named after the Correction House established there. By the same Act powers were given to

coalmasters, saltmasters and others, to seize beggars and put them to work, like the masters of Correction Houses. The Kirk Sessions were ordered to look after the aged and infirm, but were now to have the help of the heritors. Begging, under a badge, and only within the parish, was permitted. During the "seven ill years" various Proclamations were issued on behalf of the poor and for the execution of the laws, but no change was made except that of making the period of chargeability residence one of seven years (1698). We have the clear evidence of Fletcher of Saltoun that the distress in Scotland was very great. In his *Second Discourse*[1] he estimated that, besides a great many poor families very meanly provided for by the church boxes, two hundred thousand people were begging from door to door.

> And tho' the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, by reason of this present great distress, yet in all times, there have been about one hundred thousand of these vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection, either to the laws of the land or even to those of God and nature . . . they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants, who if they give not bread or some kind of provision to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them, but they rob many people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. It were better for the nation that they were sold to the galleys or West Indies, than that they should continue any longer to be a burden and a curse upon us.

Fletcher suggested that by way of example several hundreds of the worst vagabonds should be sent to the galleys, that others should be set to work at trades, in trenching or in ditching, while the infirm should be properly cared for in institutions, hospitals, etc.

In 1707, with the Union of the Parliaments, all separate legislation for Scotland's poor came to an end

[1] Glasgow, 1749, pages 100-104.

till 1845. With conditions of peace and the rapid growth of industries, economic conditions improved and police control grew ever more strict. The Kirk Sessions continued to care for the needy poor, and further legislation was not required until a time of stress again returned, consequent upon the struggle of Europe against Napoleon. The introduction of steam power and machinery in the nineteenth century caused much unemployment and distress, and helped to bring in the new legislation of 1845.

CHAPTER VI

Poor Relief by the Reformed Church in a Rural Parish—Newhills.

NEWHILLS is the name of the parish adjacent to Aberdeen city on the north-west. Up to 1666 it formed a portion of the old Cathedral parish of St. Machar. In pre-Reformation times there was a chapel within the area at Craibstone, built, according to the charter, in the fourteenth century, on the site of which there is still a burying-ground. The parish church of Newhills was built in 1662, the gift of George Davidson, a burgess of Aberdeen. He likewise purchased about 700 acres of land adjacent, to be an endowment for the support of the minister. On 21st February, 1666, the Commissioners of Teinds erected Newhills into a separate ecclesiastical parish, and the name of the estate, Newhills, was adopted for the name of the new parish. The land, at first of little value, being in 1666 mostly moorland, is now well cultivated, and the rental of about £1,000 (less burdens of taxation, etc.) forms the minister's stipend.

The teinds belong to King's College, and the stipend from the lands was in 1811 considered sufficient in the Court of Session (Reverend George Allan *versus* King's College), otherwise it would still have been competent to make a claim for augmentation on unexhausted teinds. The salary of the minister from the rentals of the farms was held by the Court of Session to be sufficient.

Unfortunately, the *Kirk Session Records* of this parish are not complete. Those extant begin in 1700, but are quite legible and well preserved. There is a blank of one year, 1715-1716; the minister, Robert Burnett, M.A., had hanged himself in a fit of insanity on the church-bell rope; the Session Clerk was absent; and then, the most cogent reason, the Jacobite Rebellion was raging. It is expressly stated in a summary at the end of Vol. I that, during the Rebellion, no Presbyterian minister or probationer had access to the church; which is proof of a religious aspect of the Rebellion. Vol. II carries the records from 1716 to 1747, but from 1745 to 1747 the entries are very scant and disappear until 1751, when a new volume begins. In 1745 the second Jacobite Rebellion would account for the interruption. The principal landlord, James Moir of Stoneywood, was an active Jacobite, being obliged to flee the country. Volume III carries us from 1751 to 1769. The Volume from 1769 to 1819 is lost. Volume IV carries the records to 1854, and Volume V, from 1854, is in use at the present day. At the end of the earlier volumes there is a statement of income and expenditure annually. After the Disruption in 1843 the records cease to be parochial, and become congregational. In 1845, by the Poor Law Amendment Act, Newhills Church was entirely relieved of its duties towards the poor.

It is difficult to estimate the population of the parish. At first the church membership totalled about 90—many would maintain their connection with Oldmachar church. In 1769 the population is recorded at 859. The paper factories and granite quarries were opened soon after, and the population has gradually risen to over 6,000 to-day.

In Newhills the main source of funds for the poor

came from the church collections. In the early days, when the whole population lived off the land, the collections varied with each harvest, and very markedly. Fines were inflicted for all breaches of church discipline, e.g., immorality, £4 Scots per man, and £3 Scots per woman. Seats belonging to the Session in the loft were let on behalf of the poor. Pledges deposited by brides and bridegrooms were forfeited if no marriage took place. Then there were baptism and marriage fees, and the money from hiring out the mortcloth. Later there was the interest from mortifications and investments. These funds were distributed quarterly, and the poor received just what sum was in hand in proportion to their needs. Urgent and costly cases of relief were met by special collections made either in church or from house to house; e.g., for a poor man badly burned; to bury a beggar; for a widow with a large family, recommended by the Presbytery; for the Protestants in Vilna; for a poor minister in America; for a poor farmer to buy a horse; for a New Testament for a needy woman; for a poor scholar at college; for a bridge over the Greenburn; for German Calvinists in London; for the Aberdeen Infirmary (from 1741 annually); for poor lunatics, etc. This system continued till 1843, but then a voluntary levy from heritors and feuars became necessary. The local industrial population was growing rapidly. In 1845 the Parochial Board assumed all responsibility for the poor. The following are interesting facts collected from the *Kirk Session Records* of Newhills:

24th August, 1701:

> The minister reports that the Presbytery, taking into consideration that the Session of Newhills was not in a position to maintain its foundlings, did kindly condescend to assist the said Session according to the proportion following:—

Aberdeen	£3 0 0
Oldmachar	1 0 0
Belhelvie, Peterculter, Drumoak, Skene, Kintore, Kinellar, each 12s. . . .	3 12 0
	£7 12 0

This is an interesting entry. As the old north road passed through Newhills, the inhabitants near the road very frequently found children lying at their doors of a morning. These were at once handed over to the Kirk Session, and a special meeting was called. If the child was newly born, the wives of the Session members were called upon to help the Session to make diligent search for the mother. Information was sent to all the neighbouring parishes, and similar investigations were made there. Here we have the Presbytery admitting that Newhills had a heavy burden and willing to help voluntarily. This persisting idea of *voluntary* help is pleasing to find in an organization made by a Christian Church. In 1718 and in 1719, there are four separate contributions by the other parishes within the Presbytery in response to the crave of Newhills Session for help with the foundlings.

4th July, 1703:

This day, was read an Act of the Privy Council announcing a great tribulation to the people of Leith, who had their houses burned, and the people were exhorted by the minister to extend their charity next Sabbath. The collection amounted to £3.

4th February, 1704:

An Act of Council was read in favour of James Thomson, a slave in Algiers, for a voluntary contribution to help to have him released. Collection £3 1s.

5th June, 1709:

Act of General Assembly was read for a fast in view of a bad seedtime, scarcity of food, loss of flocks and cattle in the land and spiritual plagues.

The church income decreased from £57 in 1708 to £24 in 1709. With the scarcity, prices had doubtless risen, and yet the poor had to be provided for with less than half the usual money.

NEWHILLS PARISH CHURCH.

Balance Sheet, 1713.

	Charge.
January Collections	£1 8 0
February Collections	1 14 0
Feb. 1. John Anderson payed for his penalty	4 0 0
March Collections	1 16 0
April Collections	1 17 0
April 12. Payed by Elspet Renny of penalty	5 6 8
May Collections	1 19 10
June (8 Collections) being the moneth in which the Sacrament of the Lord's Super was celebrated	9 4 2
June 28. Payed by Mary Cruikes of penalty	3 0 0
July Collections	1 10 4
August Collections	4 3 0
September Collections	1 17 6
Sept. 20. Payed by John Tulloch of his penalty	10 0 0
Oct. Collections	1 7 4
Nov. Collections	1 11 10
Nov. 8. Payed by Els Jeals of penalty	5 6 8
Nov. 8. Payed by Will Jameson for his penalty	3 6 0
Dec. Collections	1 7 8
	£58 13 10
Brought Forward	53 10 0
	£112 3 10

Balance Sheet, 1713.

	Discharge.
Apr. 19. Given to Jean Sted in distress	£0 14 0
May 8. Distribution was made to the poor of the paroch	
It. to Jo Thomson and to Agnes Lundy to each 16s.	1 12 0
It. to Al. Stephen, Christ Jamison, and Jean Galle to each 12s.	1 16 0
It. to the Kirk Officer to buy an pair of shooes	0 14 0

May 29.	It. to Will Norry, wright, Alexr Abel, bigging builder, Alexr Johnston, smith, for repairing the school	£1 0 6
Jun. 14.	To Agn. Sutor and Will Miln in distress	1 0 0
July 12.	To the Presby Bursar from Nov. 11 1711, to Nov. 11, 1712 . . .	2 0 0
Aug. 9.	To Jo Thomson	0 16 0
Sept. 11.	Distribution was made to the poor.	
	It. to Ag. Lundy, Jean Sted, Jean Galle, Chris Jamison and Jo Thomson to each 12s. . . .	3 0 0
	It. to Ag. Sutor	0 15 0
	It. to Al. Piry, Glazier for an glass window and weir case . . .	7 14 0
Nov. 8.	It. to the school Mr. from Nov. 1, 1712 to Nov. 1, 1713 . . .	20 0 0
	It. to Alexr Stephen, on of the Poor	0 12 0
		£45 11 6

Charge . .	£112	3 10
Discharge .	45	11 6
Remainder .	£66	12 4

We note that in 1713 there was a half-yearly distribution among the regular poor on the roll, with casual relief as need arose. Later the distribution was made quarterly. The credit balance disappeared in the troublous times of 1715. The sums given seem so small that we must assume that the poor either worked a little or begged the most of their living.

6th March, 1720:

This day's collection was designed for Isabel Stewart in this parish, subject to convulsive fits, who had fallen into the fire when in one of the fits, and was miserably burned.

22nd October, 1721:

The minister intimated a collection for the maintenance of the prisoners at Aberdeen.

23rd May, 1725:

The Synod appointed this day's collection for the relief

of Mrs. Wm. Stewart of Inverchatt, and recommended to the people to extend their charity.

5th February, 1727:

The minister informed the Session that the Presbytery required an account of the poor and funds for their behoof in the several parishes within their bounds. The Session recommended to the minister to search the Minutes, and inform the Presbytery accordingly.

27th March, 1726:

Child found about 2 years old. The Session agreed with Wm. Reid at £5 6s. 8d. per quarter for the child's board.

(An additional allowance was made for clothes, as is the custom to this day.)

9th April, 1727:

The Session being informed that Wm. Reid, with whom the foundling was settled, is to remove out of the parish at Whitsunday next, resolved to settle the said foundling within the parish, and being informed that Wm. Leith of Nether Newhills [now called Netherhills] would be content to take the child, recommended to the minister, and to James and Wm. Shepherd, to talk with Leith, and report their diligence.

16th April, 1727:

The minister and elders reported that, according to appointment, they had talked with Wm. Leith and agreed with him upon the following terms, viz.:—

They had engaged in the Session's name to pay quarterly to William Leith, £4 13s. 8d. for the foundling's board, and over and above, maintain the foundling in clothes. William Leith on the other hand, engaged that in four years' time or how soon it can be reckoned that the foundling can do any kind of service worth two meals of meal a day, that he, the said William, shall afford him the third meal for nothing, and the Session shall be no further expenses for the said foundling save for clothes, and that no longer as he can work for meal and clothes both. The Session approved their diligence and closed with prayer.

18th July, 1736:

It was told William Leith that he was to have no more from the Session, for behoof of the foundling, he being now capable to shift for himself.

From the above entries it is easy to make the following calculations:—the child is expected to earn his food at the

age of seven, and soon after that, his clothes also. When the Session decided to send him out into the world, he would have been eleven years of age.

17th March, 1728:

There was application made to the Session for supply to Alexander Smith in Hillocks, whose wife is lately dead, and he left with a sucking child and a great family of small children who are like to starve. His circumstances being well known in the place, the Session not being able to advance him money at this time, appointed a collection to be gathered for him from house to house through the parish, and left it to the said Smith to name any person he could trust for collecting the same and report to the Session what he made of it, and recommended to the minister to intimate this appointment Sabbath next.

In 1727 there was a debt in the Session's finances of £1 2s. 10d. This explains the Session's inability to help.

25th August, 1728:

The pledges lodged with the Session by bride and bridegroom for a penny Bridal at Dykeside, are declared forfeited by reason of the scandalous cursing, drinking, and scandalous practices.

2nd February, 1729:

As no sacrament was observed in the year 1727, it was resolved to give the money for elements from the Masters of King's College to the poor. [40 marks Scots.]

6th February, 1732:

The Session considering that there was in the box a quantity of bad money useless for the poor, it was agreed that two of their number should meet with the Moderator and Clerk on the 10th inst, to supervise it, that it might be sold to the best advantage for the poor's use. Amount of bad money found £6 7s. 6d. Scots of bad halfpennies, and £9 6s. 8d. Scots of doits. Sum received for the bad money £6 16s. Scots.

7th March, 1735:

There was intimated this day by appointment of the Synod a day's collection to poor persons applying at the Synod.

This is interesting as showing that poor persons could appeal to the Synod, a higher court, and the Synod asked

the Sessions to provide funds for such applicants. A poor person might not know his parish of birth or settlement.

4th March, 1739:

Given in to the Session this day 12s. Scots of the effects of Bessie Boddel, formerly in the poor's list, now deceased.

The Session had a legal claim upon any furniture or property that a deceased poor person might leave. To-day the Parish Council has the same legal right, but Inspectors of Poor may be guided by L.G.B. Blue Book, 1906, page 43.

7th June, 1739:

The minister having received £21 Scots to be distributed among seven necessitous persons, it was done accordingly.

Evidently this was a gift to the poor, anonymous and annual from 1733.

10th May, 1741:

Given in this day £12 Scots mortified by James Barkin, a late servant in the parish.

This is the first reference to a mortification for the poor in the parish of Newhills.

17th November, 1731:

Collected by order of the Synod and given to sufferers by fire at Monymusk £8 5s.

1st August, 1725:

To common beggars at Sacrament £3.

This was an annual distribution after the Sacrament.

27th June, 1753:

Andrew Fowler in Mugiemoss informed the Session that upon Wednesday morning between four and five o'clock, two male children, supposed to be twins, were found laid down in the door of his dwelling-house. The minister and elders gave it as their opinion that the minister should write to the ministers and magistrates of Aberdeen and Oldmachar to entreat them to make strict search and enquiry through both these towns in order to discover the

mother of the children. In consequence of which, the minister did write to the Provosts and ministers of Aberdeen and Oldmachar and to the other neighbouring ministers, and caused the elders of the parish to go through their several districts with midwives to inspect the women of their parish. One of the children died the same day it was exposed, and the other was committed to the care of Elizabeth Fraser in Cloghill.

1st July, 1753:

The elders reported that they had gone through the parish.

14th November, 1753:

Thanksgiving day ordained by the Presbytery for the good harvest.

The church income increased that year from £63 to £80.

17th March, 1754:

An Act of the Synod was read ordaining a collection for the Infirmary of Aberdeen. The elders made the collection through the parish this week. £32 4s.

In 1764 the Synod ordained that this collection be made annually.

23rd June, 1754:

The Session lends out £200 Scots of the poor's money.

This is a sign of better times, marked by an unusual inflation of money Scots. In 1756 the annual income was £261 against £63 in 1752. This inflation (in period of war against France in India and Canada) ended in Scotland adopting English currency, the £1 sterling, in 1768. (£1 Scots = 1/8 sterling.)

25th May, 1755:

The minister intimated that the four first seats in the Session's new loft were to be set on behoof of the poor, at the following rates: 1st Pew, 6d. per seat, 2nd Pew 5d., 3rd and 4th Pews, 4d. per seat, payment to be made in advance.

29th May, 1763:

Three pews were erected in the middle of the church and set on behoof of the poor.

11th November, 1764:

Harvest Thanksgiving ordained by Synod. Collection given to James Black and George Keith in Huxterstone, whose corn and houses had been burned. £15 10s. 6d.

12th February, 1769:

£20 sterling lent to Baillie Dingwall, Aberdeen at 4 per cent.

Unfortunately, as stated above, the minute book 1769-1819 is lost. But the following are extracts from the minutes of the period 1819-1845, just before the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act. These will reveal how even in landward parishes a voluntary levy became necessary, and finally a legal assessment for the poor.

18th November, 1819:

It was intimated that John Brown Esq. Wine Merchant in London, son of their late minister Dr. John Brown, who died in 1803, had left a legacy of £189 nett to the poor of the parish. The minister was instructed to invest this money, along with other £111 as best he could.

10th September, 1820:

Annual collection for the Presbyterial Lunatic Fund amounted to £4.

[For poor lunatics in asylums.]

10th August, 1823:

Intimation was made that the late minister Mr. George Allan, had bequeathed £50 to the poor of the parish to be lent out at interest.

7th January, 1832:

Amount on loan to City Treasurer, Aberdeen, £384.

7th October, 1832:

The wife of Alexander Rae requested supply from the poor's fund. The claim was rejected as she and her husband appeared to have been able to support themselves for 3½ years since leaving the parish. A deficiency of

£4 7s. 9d. in the poor fund was to be supplied by the Board of Health Fund.

Here we find the Kirk Session applying the law of settlement by residence furth of the parish for three years. Secondly, this entry contains the first reference to a government subsidy for Kirk Sessions in debt by their poor's fund.

23rd December, 1832:

It was agreed that the minister should uplift £40 of the poor's money along with the interest of the £384 invested with the Town of Aberdeen at 4 per cent.

2nd January, 1833:

Another quarterly deficit of £7 7s. 5d., which with the previous deficit, was now replaced by the Board of Health money.

20th December, 1835:

£20 paid to the poor's fund from the Burnet Mortification.

4th April, 1836:

Effects of two deceased paupers sold £3 0s. 5½d.

8th October, 1837:

Legacy to the poor of £10 from the late Mr. Lumsden, The Grove.

Almost every quarter from 1832 to 1842 the minister was instructed to uplift from £20 to £40 from the invested capital, until the whole capital sum was exhausted. The poor were increasing in numbers, and a "collection for unemployed operatives in the city of Aberdeen, 19/6/1842," proves that the introduction of machinery was throwing people idle. In Newhills the climax was reached on 6th September, 1843, when a voluntary assessment was agreed upon.

At a meeting of the heritors and feuars and the Kirk Session of the parish of Newhills, held within the parish church, called by edictal citation from the pulpit for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the poor's funds in the parish, and to concert measures for the

support of the poor, upon the 6th September, 1843; the meeting having deliberated on the subject, and finding that it will be necessary to raise the sum of £100 for the maintenance of the poor and the payment of the debt during the current year, resolved to recommend the Heritors and Feuars voluntarily to assess themselves in the said sum of £100 to be levied in proportion to their real rents as ascertained and fixed by the scheme of division at the time of the erection of the church . . . as the only means of avoiding the immediate imposition of a legal assessment, which otherwise seems inevitable.

Matters had been precipitated by the Disruption, or breaking-off of the Free Church in 1843, when in Newhills the major part of the parishioners joined the Free Church. The collections and penalties of the old parish church suffered accordingly, because non-members refused to submit to discipline.

12th October, 1844:

The voluntary assessment of £100 was paid in to the church treasurer.

The Heritors and Feuars were summoned again on 14th October, 1844, to provide for the poor.

From 1846 there are no further references in the minutes to the Quarterly Distributions to the poor. The administration had passed to the Parochial Board, who imposed a legal assessment for the poor annually.

The following extracts are taken from the Kirk Session Records of the Parish of Ordiquhill, Banffshire—a rural parish far removed from any urban centre. The extracts are chosen in order to supplement the information provided by the extracts from Newhills Kirk Session Records:

13th December, 1713:

Sir James Gordon of Park [a large landed proprietor] mortified 600 marks Scots for the poor.

27th November, 1729:

The Earl of Findlater gave £3 Scots for the poor.

Gifts for the poor figure frequently in these records from the landed proprietors or heritors, who by the Act of 1672 were made jointly responsible with the Kirk Session for the poor, and for the levying of an assessment. The gifting of a sum in times of great stress avoided the imposing of an assessment.

12th March, 1751:

In consequence of an intimation from Mr. Pringle, Sheriff Depute, the Session take under consideration the state of the poor. The Session find that there are presently in the parish only six poor, who craved to be continued on the poor's roll, and as they are now discharged from begging, craved some present supply. The treasurer was appointed to give five of them one shilling each, and it was judged that one peck of meal in the week, would be absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the said five poor, payment to be made of the one half by the factor on the estate of Park, out of the farms, and the other half to be stented upon the householders within the parish.

16th January, 1752:

The poor travel through the parish and uplift their quota from the householders themselves, choosing rather to collect the meal themselves, than to be close confined to their houses.

In this period of distress, due to the wars with France in Canada and India, this relief afforded seems closely akin to a permission to beg. Again, during the long Napoleonic wars, the Kirk Session was obliged to buy meal and sell it at a reduced figure to the poor.

21st December, 1796:

The Session resolves to borrow money and buy meal, and sell it to the poor at the reduced price of ten pence per peck.

23rd February, 1800:

The Session expends £45 on meal on account of the scarcity and dearth.

(The harvest of 1799 was particularly bad.)

12th November, 1815:

The Session buys in 16 bolls of meal at 14/6 a boll, to be kept in a girnal till the poor require it.

In the *Statistical Account of Aberdeenshire*, published in 1843, immediately before the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1845, a very concise account of how the poor were relieved was given by the minister of the parish of St. Fergus, a rural parish of Aberdeenshire. The population of this parish at that date was 1334.

> The average number of persons receiving parochial aid is 56; and the average sum allotted to each is about £1 8s. per annum. The regular distributions are made quarterly, but intermediate aid is advanced occasionally, as cases of urgent necessity occur. The annual amount of monies available for behoof of the poor of the parish is; from church collections on an average £56; from hire of hearse and mortcloth, and from desk money for proclamation of banns £4; from interest of £800 of funds, £32; and from donations from the heritors £6 (Mr. Ferguson £5, and Mr. Cumine £1). The honorable Mrs. Ferguson of Pitfour gives an annual donation of blankets and flannels for the more destitute of the poor on Pitfour property; and the family at Rattray are very attentive, by domiciliary visits, and seasonable supplies of food and clothing to that portion of the poor that are located on their lands in this parish.
>
> A Lunatic Fund was lately established under the management of the Kirk Session, to which the heritors contributed last year £7 16s. There is only one lunatic deriving benefit from it, who had obtained a legal claim upon the poor's funds in this parish by industrial residence. He is kept in the Asylum in Aberdeen at an annual expense of £17 18s. including maintenance and clothing. The fund is at present completely exhausted. It would be a great improvement on the present mode of administering relief to the poor, to convert the monies quarterly distributed to each, either wholly or in part, at the discretion of the Kirk Session into meal. This method would have been adopted before now in this parish, but for the want of a girnal. The Session cannot afford, in the present state of their funds, to build a house for this purpose, and unless the heritors should compliment them with one, the plan is impracticable. But what calls loudly for such a mode of distribution is the well-ascertained fact, that several of the paupers are in the habit of expending the greater part of their quarterly receipts from the parish funds on tea and tobacco, and other luxuries, while they calculate on the bounty of the charitable for the necessaries of life, thus aggravating, by the means intended to mitigate, the evils of their condition. It is matter of hearty regret,

that that spirit of independence, which disdains to subsist on any other exertion than its own, and which was formerly the boast and ornament of our peasantry, is now far less characteristic of the class—and to receive parochial relief is consequently not considered so humiliating and degrading, as it was in a byegone generation. The winter has however witnessed many cases of the utmost unwillingness to receive the aid, which was but too manifestly needed, and where the greatest delicacy was required in the ministrations of charity, not to injure the fine feelings which had survived the withering influence of the most desolating poverty.

There are no travelling beggars belonging to the parish, but some of the more necessitous of the paupers on the roll make frequent applications for meal, and milk, and other necessaries, to their better conditioned neighbours. The sympathies of the people are daily besieged by sturdy beggars from other parts of the country, who drain off, by their importunity, much of those supplies, which would more properly be made to refresh the habitations of our own indwelling poor. Various attempts have been made to rid the parish of this nuisance—but that which seems to promise the only complete remedy, would be the employment of a sufficient number of constables to perambulate the parish. This was partially attempted, but failed from the want of funds to keep up an adequate vigilance. From the interest, which the landed proprietors in general, have in the maintenance of the parochial funds, and the means of their increase, it might be an experiment worth their trial, to assess themselves in their several counties, according to their valued rent, in an annual sum, to be augmented by parochial contributions, for the purpose of organising a constabulary of competent force to put down the evil.

CHAPTER VII

Administration of Relief in Aberdeen City, 1638-1844.

ABERDEEN, unfortunately, although far removed from the political centre of the land, and with a reputation for lukewarmness in matters religious, suffered severely during the troubles of the seventeenth century. The records of Aberdeen city are full of reference to these troubles. Again and again the citizens were taxed for the arming of men and for the defence of the town. A chronicler of the time, John Spalding, supposed to have been Clerk to the Consistorial Court of the Diocese of Aberdeen, has left us his valuable "Memorialls of the troubles in Scotland and in England," 1624-1645. Naturally he has much to say of his own city of Aberdeen. In 1639 the city of Aberdeen, at the instigation of the Marquis of Huntly, took the side of the King against the Covenanters. Montrose and General Leslie came north, compelled Huntly to disperse his troops, and harassed the citizens of Aberdeen.

In 1645 the city had joined with the Covenanters. Montrose, who had now embraced the royal cause, crossed the Dee ten miles above Aberdeen, marched down upon the city, and sent a drummer to call upon it to surrender. The draft reply by the Provost and Baillies of Aberdeen, dated 13th September, 1644, is preserved

in the Charter Room, Aberdeen Town House. The following sentence gives the sense of the reply: " We sall be most willing to spend the last drope of our blood yrin, according to the covenant subt and sworn by us." A bloody conflict ensued at the Crabestone (East Craibstone Street), just outside the city. Montrose was victor; he took possession of the city, put to death many of the chief inhabitants, and pillaged everywhere. Little wonder is it that we find the Kirk Session in 1650 glad to issue to the poor of the city tokens to beg. The fine scheme of self-imposed assessment for the poor, 1619-1621, had fallen into desuetude.

Later on, the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 caused in each case about one year of dislocation of trade and industry. In 1715 the Earl of Mar demanded a contribution of £2,000 for the Pretender's army. About half that sum was paid, and although the Pretender, landing at Peterhead, passed through Aberdeen on his way to Fetteresso, the citizens were afraid to commit themselves to his cause. In November, 1745, Lord Louis Gordon, Lord Lieutenant of Aberdeen and Banff for Prince Charlie, took possession of Aberdeen. In February, 1746, the rebels evacuated the city on the approach of the Duke of Cumberland.

The church in Aberdeen continued to carry on its beneficent work among the poor during the seventeenth century, despite the religious controversies and civil wars. There is, however, one new departure in Aberdeen which is of particular interest, namely, the founding of a Correction House.

In 1636 the Town Council requested the financial assistance of the " Crafts," or Incorporated Trades, " to by (buy) a commodious tenement of land in this burghe to be a correctioun hous for the wark of macking of

braidcloath, upoune the conditiounes efter following."[1] As the weavers feared competition with forced and unpaid labour, they laid down conditions which the Council could not accept. However, in 1637, on 8th February, a contract was signed " betwixt the toun and the compartinaris of the wark of the correction hous " after two " severall courtis of the haill nichtbouris and inhabitantis of the said burghe, being convenit within the Tolbuith " on 7th and 12th October, 1636, that " ane correctioun hous sal be erected within the same burghe, and the tred of making of bredcloath, carseyis, seyis, and uther manufactoris settled thairin, for advancing of verteu, and suppressing of vyce amongst the comounes."

The contract goes on to say that as the town is already heavily burdened with debt the Council cannot of itself build the Correction House, but it granted 2,000 marks Scots to help the " undertakers " of the institution. The Council granted full permission to make all cloths like those made in St. Paul's Workhouse, Edinburgh, and the managers were to dispose of all the cloth in whole pieces of at least twelve ells. The managers undertook to have the place built, furnished, and staffed within six months. There had to be enough prison room for the master to receive ten prisoners, vagabonds, strong and sturdy beggars, disobedient servants or children, lewd livers, " pyikers, commoun scoldis, and uncorrigible harlottis not amending to the discipline of the kirk." They were kept continually at work, and never allowed outside, and could be whipped as in Edinburgh. No extra food was allowed to be given by friends, but prayers were read to them every Sunday. Lunatics, fools, deaf-mutes, etc., were not admitted. All had to

[1] *Burgh Records*, 12th October, 1636; 8th February, 1637.

be able to work, and be over twelve and under sixty. The Council ordered the Kirk Session to pay quarterly the sum of £240 Scots per annum to the master of the Correction House. In case of epidemics, the Magistrates took liability for maintaining the prisoners. Every two years the Council sent an apprentice to be trained for nine years, and then serve one year for wages. A full training in weaving had to be given and the apprentice fed and clad well. Each apprentice within three years of discharge had to repay £20 to a Correction House Endowment Fund. The master had also to employ ten other persons sent by the Council to card and spin wool at a wage of 40s. Scots per stone of 23 lbs. of wool. The agreement was made for ten years, with a break at seven if the Council desired. The contract was duly signed by the Magistrates and the " undertaking " managers. In 1641 and 1642 the Correction House was still in operation, for mention is made of barrows lent to it by the Council (25th October, 1641, and 30th March, 1642).

On 15th January, 1645, the contracting managers of the Correction House reported to the Council that the Marquis of Montrose had commandeered much of their finest cloth for uniforms for Irish officers, under threat of plundering the whole town by order. The managers had yielded, and now appealed to the Town Council to pay the cost, as a Town's debt. The Council admitted that the petition was reasonable, and resolved that a tax would be imposed on all (except those wholly plundered by soldiers) after loans had been repaid to neighbours, and the quartering of the Fyfe regiment had been paid.

A final settlement was made on 17th October, 1649.

On 2nd January, 1650, the Council granted James Oglay, apprentice at the Correction House, £27 10s. Scots to help him to go to Holland to further learn

weaving. The money was taken from a mortification for factories of Robert Johnston.

On 12th August, 1657, the Council agreed to buy from the managing partners of the Correction House their whole building and furnishing, and also their "Walk Mill" on the River Don, in order to add to the mortification of Robert Johnstone for factories.

On 15th March, 1665, the Council received orders to employ with all diligence the Correction House for the use appointed, and to erect and set up a factory therein, and ordered the master of mortifications not to let any part of the building to any tenant for the present year. From this it is clear that the Correction House had fallen into disuse.

On 28th March, 1683, the "councell ordaines the master of mortificatiounes to accept from the tennents of that part of the correctione land now possest be thame, threttie six pund for ane years maill." This would seem to show that part of the Correction House, or perhaps the whole of it, was not being put to its proper use.

On 23rd February, 1698, during the stress of the "seven ill years," a petition was presented to the Council by a number of gentlemen who were resolved, "for the encouragement of vertew and supress of idleness and severall other considerations, to errect and set up ane manufactorie within the manufactorie house of the said burghe, commonly called the Correctione House, for makeing cloth, stockings, serges, stuffes, and other commodities."

The capital proposed was £600 Scots, and the company requested help from the mortification of Robert Johnston for that purpose, namely, a loan for seven years free of interest of £300 Scots, the Council to have an equivalent share in the business. The Council thought that the

work was most commendable and necessary, and agreed to repair the Correction House and lend £200 to the company on the terms proposed. This was the last effort made to re-establish the Correction House, and finally the Council disposed of the buildings and gave up the good work in 1711.

Throughout all the period of turmoil, 1638-1746, the Kirk Session continued its work on behalf of the poor, infants, invalids, and the aged. The Presbyterian form of Church government was maintained, but Bishops were appointed and presided at Synod meetings up to the Revolution in 1688. The Council continued to co-operate with the Session and agreed to an issue of tokens to the Town's own poor.

6th February, 1650:

> The counsall taking to thair consideratioun the great number of beggaris abounding within this burghe and speciallie extranieris com from all pairtes of the countrie; thairfoir the counsell ordaines William Scott, wright to mak ane number of ticketis with Abirdein and the yeir of God and to be delyverit to thair awin poore.

All other beggars were to be banished, and, if they failed to depart, imprisoned and scourged by two able-bodied men.

In 1656, during the temporary peace afforded by the Commonwealth, the Council passed a number of enactments for the restoration of good order, etc. No strangers were to get houses, and all vagrants had to depart within forty-eight hours. (8th October, 1656.)

Again in 1693, in answer to the Proclamation of William and Mary to Royal Burghs to meet and stent themselves in the customary manner, the Aberdeen Council proceeded to banish all vagrants. These invariably betook themselves southwards to the other centres of population, and on this occasion the action of

the Town Council evoked a protest from the minister of Roscobie in Forfarshire. He affirmed that there was no place which sent forth such legions of itinerants as Aberdeen, and that there was no harm in giving Aberdeen a hint that it would be both creditable and recommendable for the City to take measures to provide for their own poor at home, rather than set them off, like a flight of locusts, to prey upon their neighbours who were under no obligation to relieve them.

In 1741 a kind of poorhouse was established in Aberdeen, called the Poor's Hospital, at the same time as, and along with, the Infirmary. See Chapter XVI.

And now, in 1768, we come to a great landmark in the history of poor relief in the city of Aberdeen. There was established the United Fund, which, according to the Minute Book of 1768, "was to be distributed among the poor, and applied to all the charitable purposes at present provided either by the Session, or by the Directors of the Poor's Hospital."

It was decided that a system of outdoor relief would be better for the adult inmates of the Hospital, and that the Hospital would serve simply as an institution for the education of orphan and destitute children. This fund was called the United Fund, because three public bodies decided to unite their efforts on behalf of the poor, and to pool their revenues, namely:

1. The Kirk Session of St. Nicholas agreed to contribute £241 annually, this sum being its free revenue for the poor.

2. The Managers of the Poor's Hospital agreed to contribute £100 annually, this being their surplus revenue after paying all the expenses of the Hospital as now modified.

3. The Managers of St. Paul's Chapel agreed to

contribute £30 annually, and to continue their quarterly collections.

The joint Managers of this United Fund were the Magistrates and Council, 30 members; the Kirk Session, 14 members; and the Managers of St. Paul's Chapel, 6 members. From time to time donations and bequests were made to this United Fund, and for nearly fifty years (1768-1818) the monies at the disposal of the Managers were sufficient for their purposes. In fact, no appeal for voluntary assessment was necessary until 1818, and this appeal was due, doubtless, to the bad industrial and economic conditions following upon the Napoleonic wars, and to the introduction of machinery. The sum of about £1,000 was raised in 1818 by voluntary contribution from the citizens, but gradually this annual contribution diminished, until in 1835 it had dwindled down to about £400. In 1836 it was resolved to try to raise £1,700 by voluntary contribution, in order to avoid, if at all possible, a legal assessment. This contribution was really an assessment, but self-imposed by the citizens upon owners and occupiers equally. Certain citizens, however, declined to pay, and in 1838 the Magistrates had to enforce payment. Automatically a bequest of the annual value of £280 passed from the Managers of the United Fund to the Managers of the Infirmary. The Kirk Session had, up to this time, administered the estate of Kinaldie, bequeathed to them on behalf of the poor by Mr. John Burnett, who expressly stipulated that his bequest should cease if a legal assessment were ever necessary for the support of the poor in Aberdeen.

> I hereby, therefore, in case of the foresaid assessment taking place, either at my death or at any time thereafter, discharge and debar the Minister and Kirk Session of Aberdeen, and my other trustees above-named, from applying the foresaid for the purposes above mentioned, during

all the years that such assessment for the poor shall continue.

This benefaction was not exactly lost to the city, inasmuch as it was transferred after seven successive years of assessment for the poor, to the uses of the Infirmary, in accordance with Mr. Burnett's deed. The net result was that many respectable poor folks, supported till then by this bequest, were thrown on to the United Fund, and merged in the general roll of poor. One cannot help comparing the condition of the United Fund then with the condition of the Infirmary funds now. Our Infirmary has difficulty in existing by voluntary contribution, and one fears that with State help all donations and bequests might cease to be made.

With the levying of a legal assessment, an unfortunate dispute arose regarding the management of the United Fund. The ratepayers claimed the right of control over the monies levied upon them. The Kirk Session claimed equal powers with the Magistrates in the management of the Fund, in view of their long and faithful services on behalf of the poor. From 1840, the Session refused to contribute its annual sum of £240 to the United Fund. The church collections for the poor diminished annually except in St. Clement's, which, working-class district though it is, has a fine reputation for giving. No doubt the amount of the collections was adversely affected by the disrupting schism within the Church. The actual Disruption took place in 1843, when the Free Church hived off, and the old Church was left weaker and unfit to tackle the growing difficulty of poor relief. The legal assessment had therefore to be gradually increased, and even then there was a deficiency every year, which was met by borrowing.

The following statistics of this transitionary period are instructive:

		1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841
Number of Poor		1232	1262	1282	1336	1400	1496	1600	1642
Total Expenditure	£	2928	2901	2990	3099	3569	4053	4599	5144
Total Receipts	£	2436	2132	2634	2111	3868	3413	3840	6335
Collected in Union Church	£	100	64	51	45	42	46	42	37
Collected in Trinity Church	£	93	91	69	48	45	39	38	27
Collected in St. Clement's Church	£	67	71	65	76	69	89	81	84
Collected in Greyfriars Church	£	114	117	78	65	61	60	59	49
Collected in South Church	£	178	185	164	180	176	166	154	128
Collected in North Church	£	117	120	104	92	81	84	74	62
Collected in West Church	£	116	120	184	195	188	174	169	151
Collected in East Church	£	181	136	112	160	117	112	107	95
Kirk Session of St. Nicholas for the Poor	£	254	237	234	235	231	123	—	—
Assessment Total	£	—	—	570	480	2110	2130	2710	4800
Legacies, etc.	£	115	62	583	138	520	—	—	—

We note that, when the assessment was levied, four things resulted:

1. Legacies and donations for the poor ceased to be made.

2. The Kirk Session of St. Nicholas ceased to pay its annual contribution of about £240.

3. The special quarterly collections for the poor in the six city churches diminished, except in St. Clement's, the poorest quarter in the city.

4. The number of applications for relief increased steadily, with loss of independence and the spread of the idea of legal claim.

At this time about two-thirds of the population of Aberdeen resided within the civil parish of St. Nicholas, that is to say, east of the Den Burn. The well-to-do were building homes across the Den Burn in the civil parish of Oldmachar, and so were exempt from the assessment for the maintenance of the poor of St. Nicholas. Accordingly the heavy assessment for the poor in St. Nicholas fell upon those citizens of Aberdeen who were least able to pay. These two parishes remained separate in poor law administration until 1895, when the city was made one unit for poor law purposes. Hence it was that there used to be two poorhouses before Oldmill was built in 1907—the East Poorhouse in Nelson Street for St. Nicholas Parish (now demolished), and the West, in Ferryhill, for Oldmachar Parish (now a barracks of the Territorial Force). In 1841, Oldmachar, the residential quarter of the well-to-do but including Old Aberdeen, having fewer poor, required only half the amount of money needed in St. Nicholas. From 1835 a legal assessment was levied in Oldmachar, and the Heritors and Kirk Session had a joint Board of Management to administer the funds. Of course, many business people

residing in Oldmachar would also have been assessed in St. Nicholas for their business premises in the east end of the town.

Practically all the towns in Scotland were passing through the same transitional stage in the relief of poverty. Civilization was advancing and bringing changes. New centres of population were rising, for whose poor the ecclesiastical system of relief was totally inadequate. Further national legislation was overdue. A Commission of Enquiry was appointed for Scotland in 1843, and the Poor Law Amendment Act followed in 1845. Our survey, however, would be quite incomplete without some account of certain stalwarts who championed the cause of voluntary contribution as against the legal assessment.

CHAPTER VIII

Voluntary Contribution *versus* Legal Assessment.

Professor Robert Hamilton.

THIS battle raged furiously in Scotland in the early nineteenth century, until the voluntary system was finally vanquished in 1845. Aberdeen had a powerful champion of the voluntary system in Dr. Robert Hamilton, Professor of Mathematics at the University, whose name is associated with originating the idea of the National Debt. In 1822 he published an " Address to the inhabitants of Aberdeen on the management of the poor."[1] Dr. Hamilton had served for many years as a Manager of the United Fund. He had studied the systems of relief in various towns in Scotland, and read the numerous pamphlets that were appearing on this subject. Above all, he realized the insufficiency of the United Fund for Aberdeen's poor, and he desired to elicit the interest and sympathy of his fellow citizens in the whole subject of poor relief. In his pamphlet he enumerated the proper objects of charitable relief as follows:

1. The aged (cordially recommending at the same time the Savings Bank, established in Aberdeen in 1815).
2. The sick and the disabled (commending the institution of more Friendly Societies).
3. Widows with young children.
4. Orphans.

[1] See Copy in Aberdeen Public Library.

5. The blind, the deaf mutes, and those with other bodily infirmities, for institutional treatment.

6. Insane persons. A pauper lunatic fund was instituted in Aberdeen privately in 1820, and 13 lunatics were being paid for in the asylum. The fund was supported by church collections made annually.

Applications from men in good health and in employment should be resisted, even though the men were burdened with large families. So, too, should all applications from the unemployed, who were numerous after Waterloo. Works of public utility should be undertaken. Mothers of illegitimate children were not proper objects of relief, unless from private charity in conditions of extreme poverty. Dr. Hamilton then detailed four methods of conferring charitable relief:

1. *Almsgiving to beggars.* This degraded the character, and many beggars were imposters and strangers. The virtuous poor were entitled to a more kindly mode of relief. None who received from the United Fund should be allowed to beg.

2. *Private charity.* The benevolent interested themselves in the sick and respectable poor. This was the ideal method. It cultivated benevolence in the giver and gratitude in the recipient. This method, alas, was dying, and quite insufficient in itself.

3. *Relief from a public fund supported by voluntary charity.* This was the method of Kirk Sessions in the rural parishes. Relief was administered with a degree of attention, frugality, and impartiality that did honour to the Kirk Sessions. The revenues were narrow, but they sufficed. In burghs with increasing populations, the church revenues required to be supplemented by voluntary contributions.

4. There was the legal assessment, and the objections

to it were very strong. Here is a brief summary of Dr. Hamilton's objections:

1. A legal assessment was paid with reluctance and received without thankfulness. The right spirit of charity was lost to both parties.

2. The managers of a voluntary fund were obliged to be very circumspect in their giving. Less care would be taken with the distribution of a compulsory assessment. In the "Report of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1817," it was stated "that in almost every parish where a regular assessment has been established, the wants of the poor and the extent of the assessment have gradually and progressively increased from their commencement; and that it does appear to be a matter of very great interest to the community at large, to prevent as far as possible this practice from being regularly adopted; to limit . . . the assessments as much as they can be limited, where the circumstances of particular parishes render them unavoidable, and whenever it is practicable to abandon them."

3. If a labourer with a family was encouraged to rely on aid from the assessments, that energy of exertion was damped to which alone he should trust for the necessities of life.

4. As assessments seemed necessary only in towns, then aged and infirm people would tend to settle in a town for three years in order to participate in the larger distribution of relief in cash. Their residence ought to be industrious, but the law did not require this.

5. The evil consequences which had arisen from the poor rates in England should furnish a salutary lesson to Scotland, where this system was beginning to be introduced. Professor Hamilton here referred to the English system of giving relief to the able-bodied. The "Report

of the General Assembly," 1839, stated that " this recognition of a legal right in the able-bodied poor, though guarded at first and limited in its nature, led at a subsequent period to most of the evils to which the English system has given birth." For upwards of two centuries an assessment had been levied in England, and the rates amounted in 1820 to £8,000,000. Every other labourer in England was degraded to the character of a pauper by receiving an allowance from the poor rates to supplement his insufficient wage. Cheap labour was provided for the wealthy employers at the expense of the community at large. Although provision was made for an assessment in Scotland in 1579, yet the Committee of the General Assembly of 1818 reported that in 1700 only three parishes in Scotland had an assessment. From 1700 to 1800 there were 93 more, and from 1800 to 1817, 49 more. In 1820 the figures given in the Assembly Report were:

Assessed Parishes . .	209
Not Assessed . . .	654
No return from . .	20
Total . . .	883

There were no assessments in 1820 within the Synods of Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, Caithness, Sutherland, Glenelg, and Orkney, while the greater part of the assessed parishes were in the immediate vicinity of England. The amount of relief given in Scotland in individual cases was far less than in England, in fact, just about one-third. The heritors and elders granted or declined an allowance and fixed the amount, but the pauper had the right of appeal to the sheriff. The Committee of Assembly, 1818, reported that in 26 cases the sheriff had increased the allowance of the paupers, and that 20 of these cases had taken place in Roxburgh

and Berwick, where the parishes were assessed, and the other six in centres of trade and manufacture. The Committee added, " In districts where the population is chiefly agricultural and pastoral, and where there are no assessments, and particularly in the northern and western counties, the idea of increasing the Session's allowance is entirely unknown."

Professor Hamilton then proceeded to discuss the inadequacy of the United Fund for the relief of the poor in Aberdeen. He admitted that there was a strong disposition to charity among his fellow citizens, for it was manifested by the large sums regularly contributed to the Fund. He believed that if the evils of assessment were fully understood the citizens would contribute a little more still, and thus render an assessment unnecessary. The chief argument for an assessment was that certain persons in affluent circumstances declined to contribute voluntarily, and that the maintenance of the poor devolved on those who were willing to contribute. The number of people in Aberdeen who declined to pay was not great, and these observations upon an assessment might encourage them to contribute now. Some citizens considered themselves exempted because they gave liberally in private charity. That was not sufficient, because a public central fund was absolutely necessary, and no person could in conscience decline to contribute to it. Some citizens again had the idea that the poor's funds were quite sufficient; the balance sheet of the United Fund showed that this was not the case. Others alleged that the managers were careless of their duty in distributing the money: it was possible that errors might occur and misrepresentation be made to the managers, yet as a manager of many years' standing, Professor Hamilton could conscientiously declare that the difficult

and laborious duties of the managers were performed with zeal and assiduity, and that he had seen much to commend and very little to find fault with. There were only a few citizens who gave a rude reception to those who undertook the benevolent but ungracious office of soliciting contributions. No arguments had any weight with such people, but they should be warned that if recourse were had to an assessment they would be compelled to pay a great deal more than a modest voluntary contribution to the United Fund. When the books of the United Fund were balanced at the end of the year 1820, the permanent income fell short of the expenditure by £1,000. It was noted that the annual subscriptions were falling off, and were paid with reluctance. Accordingly, by authority of the Magistrates and Kirk Session, the managers called a meeting of the public on 14th May, 1821, and presented a memorial showing that three courses were open, *viz.*:—1. A more liberal contribution; 2. A legal assessment; 3. The permitting of common begging. The public meeting unanimously decided to follow the first course, and a committee was appointed to help the managers with the subscription lists. The poor were again visited in their homes, and their cases examined with a view to the reduction of their aliment in the case of improper objects of relief. The income of the United Fund came from four sources:

1. Income derived from rents and feu-duties, and interest of money in the hands of the Magistrates and Kirk Session on behalf of the poor.

2. Income from collections, weekly, quarterly, or annual, made in the churches in the city of all denominations, from marriage contracts, and from Communion collections.

3. Casual income from legacies, donations, etc.

4. Income from the subscriptions of the inhabitants.

The expenditure of the Fund was as follows:

1. On the monthly poor roll to the regular poor numbering 322, in allowances varying from 2s. 6d. to 7s.

2. On casual poor, who after six months were put on the roll of the regular poor.

3. On orphans and deserted children, numbering 30.

4. On the soup kitchen, which was opened from time to time in periods of distress.

5. On coffins for the deceased poor.

6. On annuities to a few paupers in consideration of small sums conveyed to the United Fund.

7. On the Clerk's salary, stationery, etc.

8. On the deficit upon the working of the Boys' Hospital behind the Town House, which had recently been removed to the Gallowgate to make room for a new Courthouse.

Nothing less than £1,200 annually from public contributions would suffice for the needs of the fund to prevent encroaching upon capital in the future. If an assessment were resorted to, a much larger sum would be assessed for, because the church collections would diminish, as had happened regularly in assessed parishes; there would be fewer donations and legacies; the exertions of other charitable institutions would be relaxed or discontinued; the funds would be managed with less economy; applications for relief would be multiplied; and there would be an influx of poor folk from the country parts.

Professor Hamilton considered it his duty to make these observations to his fellow citizens, and trusted that his endeavours would be successful in preventing a legal assessment.

He would like finally to acknowledge the help

rendered by certain societies in the city in mitigating poverty:

1. The Sick Man's Friend Society, founded in 1797, and expending about £160 annually.

2. The Female Society for the relief of aged and indigent women, founded in 1804, and having 200 beneficiaries at 2s. 6d. per six weeks.

3. The Aberdeen Clothing Society, founded in 1817 owing to the distress of that period, and spending annually about £112 in clothing.

CHAPTER IX

William Watson—The Children's Sheriff.

WILLIAM WATSON was born in Lanarkshire in 1796. In March, 1829, after completing his legal training in Edinburgh, he was offered the post of Sheriff-Substitute of Aberdeenshire, largely through the recommendation of Gordon of Craig. His public duties in Aberdeen very soon acquainted him with the pitiful condition of the children of the east end. His public position prevented him from taking an active part in the struggle for or against an assessment, yet independently he laboured all his life to improve the condition of the children of the poor. He kept a diary most methodically, from which the following extracts are selected:

> New Year's Day, 1831: Who is the greater benefactor, he who gives labour to the poor, or he who raises their moral and intellectual character? Drunkards and beggars add to the number of a nation, but nothing to its strength.

And there followed, as often happened at the end of a day's entries, a prayer for love, for understanding, for charity towards his fellow men. Although he was daily called upon to punish crime, his heart was never hardened. He continued all his life to give much of his leisure time to the care of the poor and of the criminal. In the year 1839, on the last day of the year, his thoughts ran on in this wise:

> What have I done for my fellow men? Nothing! Nothing!! Nothing!!! What can I do? What does He will that I do? That I love Him with all my strength and might, and my neighbour as myself. How can I love the Father and not the child? I must live no longer for myself, but for His little ones. Faith without works is dead.

That he encountered many obstacles in his self-imposed labours of love is evident from his own notes of a meeting held in the Court House on 30th April, 1840:

> Went to the County meeting at 12. Prison Board appointed. A worse could not easily have been named. Most of the persons are frequently non-resident; the residents are mostly rubbish, who oppose the Prisons Bill with all their might, and then considerately take the working of the Act. The condition of the poor was taken up, when my friend Mr. Gordon of Craig, called Dr. Alison (of Edinburgh) an enthusiast, a bigot, a man of little experience. He said that the laws relating to the poor were all sufficient without investigation; that the administration of the laws in Scotland was perfect; that the poor were supplied until they cried "Hold! Enough!"; that a government commission was the worst evil that could befall the country; that, in short, nothing was needed to be done, and no enquiry necessary. Mr. Thomson of Banchory contended that the poor were, in the spirit of the Gospel, liberally supplied by voluntary charity; that the Gospel precept was violated by the imposition of a compulsory assessment, and so on. I replied to these speeches and said that I supposed the gentlemen had made their remarks from personal experience, but, I imagined, that experience was derived from country observation, where the rich and the poor were mutually acquainted; but that in towns, matters were widely different; and I knew from what I have seen, that the poor in Aberdeen were in a state of great destitution; that we already laboured under the evils of a compulsory assessment; but the administration was quite unequal to the task devolving on it. Several spoke after me, but all to the effect, that the poor were well enough off, and to give them more would merely be to encourage extravagance.

After the cholera epidemic of the early thirties, Sheriff Watson bent his energies towards the opening of a House of Refuge for the friendless and the destitute. Dr. Watt, a wealthy gentleman in Dee Street, contributed £1,000 to the scheme in memory of his only son, who had died of cholera. Other gifts followed, and the Sheriff was able to open his House of Refuge in the Guestrow in September, 1836. This was his first piece of constructive work on behalf of the poor in Aberdeen. At this time he wrote in his diary:

SHERIFF WILLIAM WATSON.

By permission of the Aberdeen Public Library Committee.

I have commenced a perusal afresh of the New Testament, with the view of discovering the spirit of Christianity —the very truth as it is in Jesus.

His next scheme, the Society for the Education of the Poor, was in full swing in 1841, and his Industrial School scheme was taking definite shape. His brother in Edinburgh remarked in a letter: "There seemed no end to the forming of new institutions in Aberdeen," to which the Sheriff replied, "Why should there not, if the old be not sufficient? When I find that there are 280 children here under fourteen years of age, who have no means of subsisting but by begging and stealing, I think it is high time to attempt another institution." In a letter to Mr. Thomson of Banchory, who was taking a very practical interest in this Industrial School scheme, he said that in 1840 forty-three children were sent to prison for one offence or another. "What," he said, "could be more cruel or absurd than to send a child of 8, 9, 10, or 11 years to prison for theft, begging, or breach of the peace, when it is known that, unless by begging or stealing, 99 in 100 have no way of subsisting."

At last, after much opposition, his first Industrial School was opened in a small room in Chronicle Lane on 1st October, 1841.

"On the day fixed," said his grand-daughter, "Professor Brown, afterwards of the Free Church College, Mr. Thomson of Banchory, and the Sheriff met in the humble building, and waited for the first scholars. The experiment was now to be tried whether the juvenile mendicant and thief would submit to discipline and learn to do well. By and by ten were inveigled in, and that number was reckoned sufficient to begin with. Doubtless the poor boys were greatly astonished, wondering for what offence they had been apprehended, and why they

had not been taken at once to the police office. Their wonder must have increased when Professor Brown said 'Let us pray,' and open-eyed and open-mouthed they listened when their fate was explained to them—that instead of being allowed to beg they were to be taught to read and write, and for their work they would get breakfast and dinner and supper, and would be allowed to go home at night. Delighted at these conditions, the poor waifs set themselves to tease a quantity of hair which had been procured, and the three anxious directors now breathed freely. Their small victory was still a complete one, and they were repaid for preliminary toil." A leading article in the *Aberdeen Herald* in September, 1844, appealed for this institution, and in the same issue William Thom, the Inverurie poet, pleaded the cause of the orphan boy in these words:

> Chilly and forlorn looks the House of Industry, yet that house holds an hundred almost sinless souls in safety. But the other day, they were gathered from your lanes and entrys, from perdition to peace, a fountain amidst a desert of souls, a redemption on earth, these snatchings from the Kingdom of Darkness. Go to Chronicle Lane! Look carefully at those sharp little fellows, and think of your own safety, if of nothing else. Look at the fine rude raw material here, ready to be manufactured for better, for worse. In these hundred boys, as they are being trained, you have an equivalent for one hundred patent locks, forty policemen, two transports and one hangman. Look at them again and then turn to that little box, if you have a sigh and a sixpence with you. God bless you! Leave the sixpence at anyrate.

The leading article said:

> Now is the time to bring the merits of the school before the community in a more efficient manner than has yet been attempted. A public meeting, under the patronage of leading men of all shades of politics, and of any religious creed, their sanction and promise of co-operation being previously obtained, would, we doubt not, lead to the adoption of such measures as would speedily place the institution on a permanent basis.

With this School of Industry for the boys in working

order, Sheriff Watson set about founding one for the girls. "Miss Ogilvie," said Sheriff Watson one day to Miss Elizabeth Ogilvie, a member of the prison visiting committee, "I am not speaking slightingly of your prison work; but, believe me, there is more profitable labour in preventing young girls from becoming criminals than in labouring in the expectation of converting those hardened to crime." "Oh, yes," she knew it, "but how was it to be done?" "By a female Industrial School similar to the boys' one," replied the Sheriff. A few weeks afterwards Miss Ogilvie called a public meeting in the Royal Hotel to consider the matter. With only the small sum of £100, but with great faith, a committee inaugurated a school without ceremony on 5th June, 1843, in Long Acre. It grew quickly and had to be moved to larger premises on Lochside. There it flourished until 1846, when a split was made in the ladies' committee by the Disruption discords, and two schools were founded in place of one. This discord so affected Sheriff Watson's health that he was obliged to leave home for some time. The Free Church ladies moved to temporary buildings, which they called "Sheriff Watson's School." Soon after they erected a school in Skene Street with £700 subscribed by friends. The school of the Established Church party flourished as the "North Lodge School" in King Street. Each school had its subscribers, and no feeling of enmity existed between them.

It has been mentioned that a Dr. Watt gave £1,000 to help the Sheriff with his scheme for a House of Refuge. Dr. Watt now expressed a desire to buy land near Aberdeen and to erect an institution upon it. He bought the land of Oldmill, in the adjacent parish of Newhills, and conveyed it to the directors of the House of Refuge. Alas, the funds were insufficient to erect an

institution, and the land was let until 1854, when the subscribers to the House of Refuge decided that something should be done. They recommended that a Reformatory and Industrial School should be built at Oldmill as an auxiliary to the Industrial School for Boys in the town. The building was completed as a Reformatory in 1856, and Sheriff Watson was the active and enthusiastic leader throughout all the negotiations. This Reformatory was transferred from Oldmill and joined to the Boys' Industrial School at Oakbank, the whole estate of Oldmill being sold to the Aberdeen City Parish Council, as a site upon which the Oldmill Poorhouse was erected in 1907. A delightful incident is related of how one waif in particular was touched and influenced to good by the warm-hearted and personal interest of the Sheriff. Known as "Lord Raglan," this street arab, after several convictions, was sent to Oldmill as a voluntary inmate. "Never," says Sheriff Watson, "did any inmate ever discharge his duty better. He was trusted, and was faithful to his trust." Later on, as an apprentice seaman on one of the Thompson liners, he refused to desert ship for the gold mines of Australia, and became eventually a mate, and a useful and honourable citizen.

Soon after the very humble beginning of the first Industrial School for Boys in Chronicle Lane, the governor of the prison and the superintendent of the police were able to report that juvenile vagrancy and crime had considerably decreased. But something more drastic was needed. Numbers of children still infested the streets, making trouble for themselves and annoying the public. It became necessary to have the power of compelling attendance at the Industrial School. Sheriff Watson reminded the magistrates that there was a

warrant under Act of Parliament for apprehending beggars, and he undertook in his judicial capacity to put this warrant into force. The magistrates at once agreed, and the policemen received their instructions to arrest beggars. The plan succeeded, and hence it was that the larger building at Oldmill was found necessary in 1856. This institution was certified as a Reformatory School, and Sheriff Watson was acknowledged to be the founder of the first Industrial School in Britain. He was henceforth known as the "Children's Sheriff," and now desired to see an Industrial School established in every considerable town.

As early as 1844 he endeavoured to arouse Edinburgh to a sense of its duty to the starving waifs of the city, but his efforts met with little success, the authorities not being able to see their way to take any steps. The city of Dundee gave his proposals a more cordial welcome. There Sheriff Watson addressed a large meeting, received the support of the influential men, and a school was opened. In 1846 the Sheriff visited Hull, Birmingham, Liverpool and Belfast, and a beginning of Industrial School work was made in these cities. After his visit to Liverpool he wrote a pamphlet, "Can Juvenile Vagrancy be Prevented? or, A Day's Experience among the Ragged Poor of Liverpool." In 1860 he was made the recipient of an address from the Advocates in Aberdeen, in which mention was made of the eminent position he had attained by the practical application of his experiment in criminal jurisprudence to the prevention and diminution of crime.

> As the originator and founder of that now national institution—the Industrial School—you have earned for yourself, as a benefactor to your country and your race, a reputation of which you have just cause to be proud; and we believe, although it is not generally known, that the

Reformatories for juvenile offenders are also the offspring of your humane and active mind.

Dr. William Chambers wrote an account of a visit he paid to the schools in Aberdeen, which appeared in 1845 in *Chambers's Journal:*

I know of no town, at least in the northern part of the kingdom, in which the condition of the poor and of their offspring, has not, up till the present moment, been a scandal to a Christian community. The discipline of the school in Aberdeen is a happy blending of instruction with exercise and industrial training. First they receive religious instruction suited to their capacity, after which their attention is directed to the elements of geography, and the more striking facts of natural history. On two mornings of each week an hour is devoted to instruction in vocal music. Frequent instances have been known of a decided improvement in the character of the parent through the humble efficacy of the child.

The Superintendent of Police informed Dr. Chambers that there were hardly any juvenile vagrants to be found in Aberdeen. In 1847 Dr. Thomas Guthrie, influenced directly by Sheriff Watson, was able to rouse Edinburgh from its apathy by his printed plea for industrial schools.

CHAPTER X

Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Alison.

THERE remain two other names of champions of the poor in Scotland at this period. Both laboured outwith the boundaries of Aberdeen, but their names are so outstanding that some mention must be made of their work.

Dr. Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847).

His schoolmaster at Anstruther described him as "one of the idlest, strongest, merriest, and most generous-hearted boys." As a minister he revealed in his work a burning desire to fight what he called the "home heathenism" in the growing centres of population, and the disease of pauperism. His opportunity came in 1814, when he was appointed minister of St. John's Parish, Glasgow. In 1815 he inaugurated a scheme for the relief of poverty within his own parish. He maintained that the elders and deacons were the fit and proper persons to administer the poor laws, and that the church members were quite able to provide sufficient funds with their offerings. Like Professor Hamilton, he was strongly opposed to a legal assessment, and for twenty years (1815-1837) the success of his scheme proved that an assessment was not indispensable even in a working-class parish. Mr. Tufnell, a member of the Commission appointed to enquire into English Poor Law, visited Glasgow in 1833 in order to report upon Dr. Chalmers's scheme.

> The chief virtue of the system seems to consist in the closer investigation which each new case of pauperism receives, by which the parish is prevented from being imposed upon; and as it is well known by the poor that this severe scrutiny is never omitted, attempts at imposition are less frequently practised.

It was the invincible affection of the workers, elders, and deacons for the cause that made the scheme a success, and the workers were inspired without a doubt by their enthusiastic minister. Why, then, had this wonderful scheme to be abandoned? In the first place, there was a constant stream of paupers from the other parts of Glasgow, and no law could keep them out. The population of the parish was growing rapidly: it actually increased by fifty per cent. during the twenty years of the scheme. In the second place, this parish, although maintaining its own poor and sending none to the town's hospital or workhouse, was subjected to the assessment imposed at large upon the whole city of Glasgow. Exemption from assessment was claimed but was refused in 1823, but nevertheless this church carried on its good work for fourteen years more. One can imagine the immense moral value of this system to Glasgow if its shining example had been imitated instead of being crushed by the surrounding parishes. The system was a very stern test of the soundness of the office-bearers of that congregation. There was no lack of money, for the collections in eighteen years exceeded the needs of the poor by £1,100 (£7,700 against £6,600). The average annual expenditure on the poor was under £400. What congregation to-day could raise this sum annually for the poor, equivalent to £800 to-day? Finally, the charity of spontaneous kindness in St. John's had to yield to the legal charity of the rest of the city. The poor lost the sympathy and counsel of friends; the community lost

moral strength; the poor relaxed their provident habits: while the paid administrators of relief were more lax in their management, and lacking in human sympathy.

William Pulteney Alison (1790-1859).

While Professor Hamilton and Dr. Chalmers were the great champions of the Presbyterian system of poor relief, Dr. Alison of Edinburgh led the attack on the side of the legal assessment against the General Assembly, which held by the old system till 1840. Dr. Alison was a medical man, and therefore had a different viewpoint from the others. He was physician to the poor at the New Town Dispensary, and later Professor of Medicine at Edinburgh University. The epidemics of cholera (1831-1832), and of recurrent fever (1832-1840), revealed to him, as he laboured among the poor, the momentous importance of national health, and how poverty and bad housing made for the spread of disease. Dr. Alison felt morally compelled to give expression to his ideas, and in 1840 he published a pamphlet, "Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland, and its Effect on the Health of the Great Towns." He sought a remedy in the English system of a legal assessment regularly imposed. His pamphlet excited vehement opposition. The principles he advocated were opposed to the prevalent doctrines of political economy and were extremely distasteful to Scottish national feeling. After prolonged agitation a Royal Commission of Enquiry was appointed in 1844, on whose report an Act was passed in 1845 embodying many of the recommendations for which Dr. Alison contended. A fresh outbreak of fever in 1843 showed the dire connection between disease and

destitution. Dr. Alison published another pamphlet, "Observations upon the Epidemic Fever of 1843 in Scotland, and its Connection with the Destitute Condition of the Poor." Then, again, the Church was giving all its attention to the dispute which in 1843 ended in the Disruption, whereby nearly every parish in Scotland was cleft in two. And above all, while the Church system of relief was fairly adequate in rural parts, the Church was quite unable to cope with the growing needs of the poor in the large industrial centres. The rising industrial nation was simply outgrowing the system of relief of the poor.

We have arrived now at the passing of the Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Act of 1845, which took out of the hands of the Church the administration of the relief of the poor. Yet, as we look back over three hundred years and consider what relief, and in particular what sympathy the Kirk Session bestowed upon the poor; when we consider the efforts of Christian individuals to solve the growing social problems of the nineteenth century—Dr. Chalmers among the poor of industrial Glasgow, the Reverend Henry Duncan, the founder of Savings Banks, Sheriff Watson and his Industrial Schools —we must surely place all this to the credit of the Scottish Church. The theory of Dr. Chalmers deserves to be made widely known, even in these days, for its intrinsic worth:

> The remedies against the extension of pauperism do not lie in the liberalities of the rich; they lie in the hearts and habits of the poor. Plant in their bosoms a principle of independence. Give a high tone of delicacy to their characters. Teach them to recoil from pauperism as a degradation. We want no other asylum for our aged parents than that of their pious and affectionate families.

The zeal and enthusiasm that bore men like Dr. Chalmers and his workers from victory to victory were

inspired of God. Sheriff Watson, likewise, in his diary for 1856 explained how such wonders could be wrought:

> In 1841 the scheme of Industrial Schools was thought a wild suggestion, the product of a heated imagination. 1856 sees its realisation. May it extend more and more, that the whole children of the poor may be brought to a knowledge of God, and be made heirs of His Kingdom.

It is widely believed that Scottish Presbyterianism is a religion whose worshippers desire above all to save their own souls and to reason themselves into heaven. We trust that this outline of the Scottish Church's work among the poor in Aberdeen will prove that this Church laboured for the improvement of the conditions of this life as much as it hoped for a blessed hereafter. It felt for men; it made their sufferings its own concern. It refused to believe that it was God's will that the poor should suffer, and it shouldered the burden of uplifting the downtrodden. Its motto was the noble altruistic one, "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others."

CHAPTER XI

The Assessment in Aberdeen.

WE found that the city of Aberdeen had to resort to a compulsory assessment prior to the Act of 1845. On 31st May, 1841, after a few years' experience of an assessment, the Town Council appointed a committee to enquire into the method adopted in other Scottish burghs of imposing an assessment for the poor, and also to find out what monies were available by law for the support of the poor of St. Nicholas, or of Aberdeen generally, and how far these monies were being applied to their proper use.[1] This committee presented its report within the same year, and with its report it urged the Council again to petition both Houses of Parliament in order to obtain a modification of the law of settlement, and to get one general and uniform mode of providing for the poor throughout Scotland.[2]

In the first place the committee issued a printed "questionnaire" to all the burghs of Scotland of any size, classified the answers and reported as follows:

> Much diversity appears to exist both in the mode of assessing, and in the distribution and management of the funds applicable for their relief. No specific rule in law appears to exist for the laying on of the assessment. By the Act of 1579, the assessment shall be laid on the whole inhabitants, according to the estimation of their substance, while, by the proclamation of 1693, the magistrates are

[1] *Burgh Records*, 31st May, 1841.

[2] Report by the committee of the Town Council of Aberdeen for enquiring into the assessments in Scotland, 1841.

directed to stent themselves conform to such order used and wont in laying on stents, annuities, and other public burdens, in their respective burghs, as may be most effectual to reach all the inhabitants. Each burgh has thus been left to adopt a rule at its own hands, and hence the diversity of practice.

Interesting facts were given in this report regarding the mode of assessment in the chief Scottish burghs in 1841:

Edinburgh. The assessment was laid exclusively on occupancy. Proprietors were assessed only in respect of occupancy. The assessment was laid upon four-fifths of the real rent.

South Leith. The rate was imposed on the real rent of all lands, houses, and heritages, the one half on proprietors, and the other on occupiers.

Glasgow. Up to 1840 the rate was levied on "means and substance." An Act of Parliament was obtained in that year to change the mode of assessment to one of "ownership and occupancy of property," as the other method was "unequal, inquisitorial, and of a conjectural nature, and being very generally complained of."

Greenock. One half was imposed upon all proprietors according to their heritage; the other half was imposed upon resident individuals, according to their "means and substance," derivable from all sources except heritage.

Dundee. The rate was levied entirely upon "means and substance." This method had not been attended with any practical difficulty. An assessment was imposed for the first time in 1810.

Stirling and *Inverness* had still a voluntary assessment.

The committee found that the majority of the Scottish burghs assessed exclusively upon "ownership and occupancy." This was the system in Aberdeen, and

the Council was advised to cleave to this method, and to improve upon it by following the detailed recommendations of the committee.

The second part of the committee's report dealt with the monies applicable by law in 1841 for the support of the poor:

1. *Patrimonial Revenue.* This consisted entirely of church collections. Unfortunately, since the imposition of a legal assessment, the church of St. Nicholas was withholding part of the collections. The committee recommended that the magistrates should interpose their authority to stop this practice. With regard to *quoad sacra* parishes, the committee did not wish to press its claim to the collections for the poor. A compromise should be made with the managers of those churches, as had been done in the parish of Oldmachar adjacent.

2. *Incidental Revenue.* This consisted of donations, legacies, and interest from mortifications. Since the imposition of an assessment this revenue had diminished, and from 1838 it disappeared. The Magistrates were still handing over about £200 annually of interest of mortifications to the United Fund, but the Kirk Session in 1839, without intimation or reason, refused to make any further payments, founding its right upon certain reservations stated in the compact of 1768. The committee recommended that the Kirk Session be called upon to give an account of its mortifications for the poor. The committee deemed it improper to interfere with any capital sums invested for the poor in order to lessen the assessment. It recommended a method of supervision in vogue in Oldmachar, namely, that two or three ratepayers be appointed to each little district to report upon the paupers, and in particular to note any change of

circumstances that would warrant a reduction of allowance. In Greenock this method had reduced the assessment. The committee urged finally that the law of settlement encouraged poor folks to come from landward parishes, where there was no assessment, to settle in burghs in order to share in the assessment. In this way even Englishmen and Irishmen could claim relief in Scotland, but Scotsmen had no claim in these other countries. A petition to have this law altered should be forwarded to the Government by the public meeting of the United Fund, as had been done from many Scottish burghs. These recommendations were all carried out, and helped to hasten the Act of 1845.

By this Act no particular mode of assessment was enforced. Aberdeen continued its old method, but in 1851 the Parochial Board of St. Nicholas appointed a committee to enquire into the working of the " means and substance " mode of assessments in those parishes where this method was employed. This committee addressed enquiries to all the parishes in Scotland concerned, and framed their report from the answers.

When the assessment was viewed as a question of abstract justice, then the " means and substance " method was the best. In the two other methods, namely, half on owners and half on occupiers of property, or half on owners of property and half on " means and substance " residenters, undue pressure was put upon real or heritable property. People deriving their income from property had an interest in adopting the third mode, and this third mode (" means and substance ") was not favoured by the salaried and professional classes, whose incomes could be accurately arrived at. Sir John McNeill, Chairman of the Board of Supervision, in 1850, in giving evidence before a select committee of the House of Lords

on this question said, " In many parishes it has become a struggle between persons whose interests are involved, the possessors of real property on the one hand, and the possessors of personal property on the other. Changes of mode of assessment have to be sanctioned by the Board of Supervision, and the Board has on many occasions refused its sanction. The difficulties of the third mode are necessarily inherent in the attempt to ascertain what a man's ' means and substance ' really are. Glasgow changed its mode three times, and reverted eventually to ownership and occupancy of property. Where the poor rates are heavy, there is scarcely any mode against which there are not great complaints."

The committee felt that there was a growing body of opinion all over the land in favour of levying the rates on real property only (ownership and occupancy), without affecting other sources of income. The committee was satisfied that there was a necessity for legislative interference in this subject, and that the third mode (" means and substance ") would be the national mode when legislation had overcome the practical difficulties.

The committee erred, however, in its forecast, for by the Poor Law (No. 2) Act of 1861 the one method of assessment on ownership and occupancy of property was alone made lawful, and continues to be the present-day method. Since the war there are such glaring anomalies of rentals that reform in rating is acknowledged to be overdue. Many now advocate a local " Income Tax " for all local assessments, desiring thus to re-establish the " means and substance " method. Notably Provost Sir Henry Keith, Commissioner for Hamilton, presented in 1920 to the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland an interesting scheme of reform in local rating. He advocated reform in the distribution of the burden (*a*) as between

the State and the locality, (*b*) as between the individual ratepayers. In view of the present glaring anomalies he recommended a local Income Tax.

The Departmental Committee on Local Taxation in Scotland began the hearing of evidence from public bodies and others on 19th April, 1921. The terms of reference were, " To enquire into the present system under which taxation is raised by Local Authorities for local purposes in Scotland, and to report whether the system is equitable and economical, and if not, to suggest what alterations in the system are desirable."

CHAPTER XII

The Changing Industrial and Economic Conditions that Hastened the Act of 1845.

AS the years passed, 1800 to 1845, doubts as to the sufficiency of the Scottish Poor Laws were being expressed more strongly and more generally. Dissatisfaction was vented in the press, in pamphlets, and on the public platform. The English Poor Law Amendment Act was passed in 1834, and the Irish Poor Relief Act in 1838. The preceding enquiries in both of these countries showed that the old legislation for the poor was quite unfit to cope with the needs of the age. In particular, the need was shown for a new central authority which would guide, control, subsidise (in part), and co-ordinate the efforts of the local parochial authorities. The ancient system of relief in Scotland sufficed for a few years longer, but with the recurring periods of distress in large industrial areas, the enquiry in 1843 could be no longer delayed. The distress was so marked in Paisley in 1819, 1826, 1827, 1837, 1840, 1841 and 1842, that the Government was obliged to come to the rescue of that city, and subscriptions were gathered throughout Scotland and England. In January, 1847, there was formed the " British Association for the relief of extreme distress in the remote parishes of Ireland and Scotland."[1] Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria at once contributed £2,000 to this Association.

[1] *Aberdeen Journal*, 13th January, 1847.

What, then, were the causes of this widespread distress? Aberdeen was seriously affected, for on 19th January, 1842, the Kirk Session of Newhills made a special collection on behalf of the "unemployed operatives in the City of Aberdeen."[1]

1. After the long struggle with Napoleon, Europe was exhausted. The nations were too poor to buy anything except the absolute necessities of life. Trade stagnated, and unemployment resulted for many years. With a surplus of labour and a scarcity of money after Waterloo, wages fell very considerably. This is shown by two interesting weekly paysheets, one before Waterloo and the other after, which are hung within the office of Stoneywood Paper Works, near Aberdeen.

2. Industries and overseas trade had been expanding during the eighteenth century, and the population was increasing rapidly, as there was no lack of employment before the Napoleonic Wars.

ABERDEEN'S POPULATION.

1708	5,556	
1755	15,730	
1801	27,608	
1811	35,370	Increase, 29 per cent.
1821	44,796	,, 32 per cent
1831	58,019	,, 35 per cent.
1841	63,262	,, 9 per cent.

The marked decrease of increment of population in the decade 1831-1841 coincides with the introduction of power machinery into all kinds of factories. In periods of unemployment and industrial depression the marriage rate invariably falls, and with it the birth rate.

3. The distress in the 'Forties in the rural areas was due to a series of bad summers causing a failure of crops, in particular of the potato crops.

[1] *Newhills Kirk Session Records*, 19th January, 1842.

The Rise of Industries in Aberdeen.

Up to the end of the 18th century woollen manufactures were the principal source of industry and wealth. Soon after the Reformation the Magistrates had brought to Aberdeen a Fleming, who revealed certain secrets of weaving and dyeing. In 1640 Robert Johnston, an Aberdonian in London, bequeathed £600 sterling to be invested in factories for the employment of poor people, the yearly profits of which were to go to relieve the blind, lame, and impotent. We found that this bequest was used in connection with the employment of vagrants in the Correction House. Aberdeen became famed for its stockings all over the Continent. But towards 1800, with the introduction of superior machinery in England, the woollen industry declined. Wilson in 1842 reported:

> We have yet two large houses engaged in the trade, and some smaller ones; but within the last two years, we regret to say, the number of hands employed in them has fallen off from 2,500 to about 2,000.[1]

Wilson likewise recorded that "there were four houses engaged in the manufacture of cotton until last year, when one stopped." The first linen factory was established in 1749, and in 1842 there were three, all prospering. There were eight iron foundries employing one thousand hands. The first paper mill was established on the Culter Burn in 1751, followed soon after by mills at Waterton, Mugiemoss, and Stoneywood. Comb-making began in 1788 in a small way, but in 1830 a large new factory employing 300 hands was built, and a smaller one in 1836, and steam power was being introduced in these factories. In 1834 Alexander Macdonald invented machinery for sawing and polishing granite, and, as Wilson said, "this still further reduced the price of the

[1] *Bon-Accord Repository*, 1842.

labour." The first steam boat to sail from Aberdeen regularly to Leith was the "Velocity," built in 1821. Others followed in rapid succession to London, to Orkney, to Inverness, etc., and as they sailed faster and required fewer hands, further unemployment was caused. A gas-light company was established in 1824. In 1746 the first newspaper, the *Aberdeen Journal* or *North British Magazine*, a weekly publication, appeared. The *Aberdeen Chronicle* followed in 1806, supporting the Whig party, and it gave place to the *Aberdeen Herald* in 1832. Other commercial undertakings were founded as follows:

Aberdeen Bank, 1767.
Town & County Bank, 1825.
North of Scotland Bank, 1837.
Savings Bank, 1815.
Aberdeen Life Insurance Company, 1803.
Aberdeen Fire & Life Insurance Company, 1826.
North of Scotland Fire & Life Insurance Company, 1836.

Aberdeen, then, had secured its share of the growing industries of the land; its population from 1755 to 1841 had quadrupled. The city had to extend its boundaries, and, of course, the Town Council had to spend large sums in new roads and streets, paving, water supply, sewers, docks, etc. In 1790 a plan "to open a new street from the west end of Castle Street, through St. Catherine's Hill, over the Den Burn, and, by means of a bridge, to form a communication with the extensive plain on the west of the town"[1] was laid before the Town Council. An Act of Parliament was obtained to proceed with this new street, "Union Street" (named after the Union of Great Britain and Ireland), and also with King Street.

[1] *Burgh Records*, 29th July, 1790.

The expense was much greater than was expected. The city at this time, too, gave £12,000 to help towards the construction of the new turnpike road south for the new form of transport, the stage coach. The very urgent improvement of the harbour to accommodate vessels of ever-increasing size involved heavy expenditure of public funds. Finally, in 1817, the city announced its insolvency, with a capital debt of £225,740, exclusive of interest. Twenty-one citizens were appointed Trustees for behoof of the creditors, and so successful were they in the management of the trust that in six years all the funds were restored to the management of the Town Council.

It was at this time, too, in the first years of the nineteenth century, that the turnpike roads to Inverness and Banff were made, and the canal from Aberdeen to Inverurie constructed.

As we look back from the year 1923 over the growth of industry in the land, we note that the growth is not steadily and constantly maintained. There are periods of great prosperity and there are periods of marked depression. The 'Forties were a trying time, a period of depression due to the extensive introduction of machinery and steam power into all kinds of factories. The resulting increase of unemployment helped to prove the insufficiency of the old 16th century poor laws in Scotland.

CHAPTER XIII

The Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Act, 1845.

IN January, 1843, a Commission under the Great Seal was issued, appointing seven gentlemen of acknowledged competency " to make a diligent and full enquiry into the practical operation of the laws which provide for the relief of the poor in Scotland ; and whether any, and what alterations, amendments or improvements, may be beneficially made to the said laws, or in the manner of administering them, and how the same may be best carried into effect." The report was delivered on 2nd May, 1844, and the following is a brief outline of it. The Commissioners examined witnesses from all classes of society, notably the Minister or Session Clerk of every parish in Scotland. They visited paupers in their homes in representative districts, etc. Their findings were :

1. That only such as were not able-bodied received relief, according to the Act of 1579, and that, as a rule, all claims on behalf of illegitimate children were resisted. (This finding is placed first, in striking contrast to the state of matters in England, where most labourers had to receive parochial relief in addition to their wages in order to maintain their families, and where illegitimate children were provided for. The farmers of Norfolk, 17th March, 1923, in appealing to the Prime Minister for a State Subsidy, feared they would soon be unable to pay an economic wage, and that the labourers would require parochial aid again.)

2. That the poor were of two classes, the regular poor and the casual poor temporarily incapacitated; and that relief for the able-bodied came from voluntary charity.

3. That in rural parishes the Kirk Session and the Heritors had joint control of the poor, and in burghal parishes the magistrates bore the obligation, and appointed a committee for the duties.

4. That the funds were derived from church collections, fines imposed by the Kirk Session, mortifications and donations; that in rural parishes the heritors contributed voluntarily to make up any deficiency; that there was a strong feeling in opposition to a legal assessment in Scotland; that the clergy in general had strenuously exerted their influence against a compulsory assessment for the poor; that in towns and populous parishes an assessment was found necessary; that the number of assessed parishes was increasing; that the opposition to an assessment was diminishing; that the mode of assessment differed widely throughout Scotland.

5. That poorhouses had been established in large towns for the aged and helpless whose friends were unable to care for them.

6. That the Scottish system was essentially one of outdoor relief, payment being made periodically, and usually in money; that the allowances varied in amount and in kind.

7. That the poor in some parishes were licensed to beg, in conformity with the Act of 1672, on one or more days of the week.

8. That medical relief hardly existed, but that it was generally provided by private charity through dispensaries in towns, and at the hands of the generous medical practitioner in the rural parishes, who also usually furnished medicines; that funeral expenses were paid out of the

poor's funds generally; that relatives who undertook the expense of the funeral were usually allowed to keep the effects of their deceased relative.

9. That considerable sums from the poor's funds were spent yearly in sending home English and Irish paupers, and paupers belonging to other parishes in Scotland; that whole families were sometimes transmitted in this manner, and if there were invalids or children in the party they were removed in carts, and the expense of the conveyance was borne by the different parishes through which they passed on their way homewards. "Passes" of this description were sanctioned by the Act of 1579 and by the Proclamation of 1692.

(A friend of mine, 70 years of age, frequently heard his father relate an incident that took place near Blindburn, Blairdaff, Aberdeenshire. A female pauper was being transported to her parish of chargeability through Blairdaff upon a roughly-made stretcher. The men from one farm were carrying her through the fields to the next farm, there to deposit her. All at once the stretcher party was attacked by a bull. The supposed invalid was the first to reach and climb over the dyke.)

The Commissioners proceeded to recommend alterations in the Poor Law. They found not so much defects in the law as that the law was not being administered properly. They did not wish to make material changes in the spirit or letter of the law, which had been evolved out of the habits and feelings of the community. Nor would they recommend measures likely to create any abatement of exertion on the part of the working classes, or a less independent feeling than that which existed, believing all this to be for the happiness and welfare of the poor. They admitted that, while some paupers were

as comfortable as labourers, others were insufficiently provided for.

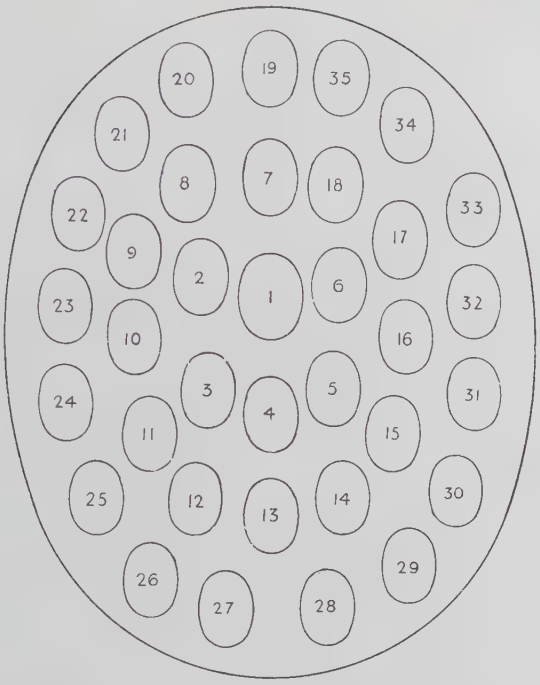
In 1845 the recommendations of the Commissioners were embodied in the Poor Law Amendment (Scotland) Act, which we shall now proceed to examine. The preamble declared it "to be expedient that the laws relating to the relief of the poor in Scotland should be amended, and that provision should be made for the better administration thereof."

1. There was appointed by this Act a "Board of Supervision for relief of the poor in Scotland." This was the first *ad hoc* central poor law authority in Scotland. Its nine members met twice a year; all gave their services gratuitously except one, who was paid to carry on the daily duties of the Board. The nine members were: Lord Provosts of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Solicitor-General, the Sheriffs-Depute of Perth, Renfrew, Ross and Cromarty, and three others nominated by the Crown. This Board was empowered to enquire into the management of the poor in every parish and burgh in Scotland, and to conduct any special enquiries it might think necessary. It could summon witnesses and order the production of books, etc., as it thought reasonable. The members of the Board and their officers, if duly authorised, could attend the meetings of Parochial Boards, take part in the discussion, but not vote. The Board could allow parishes to combine for the better support and management of the poor (e.g., several parishes might combine to build one poorhouse, as the Buchan Combination Poorhouse at Maud). In short, this Central Board was to guide and control the local Parochial Boards of managers to be established by this Act.

2. In every burghal parish a Parochial Board of managers was elected, in whom the whole local

PAROCHIAL BOARD AND OFFICIALS OF ST. NICHOLAS, ABERDEEN, 1883.

By permission of the Aberdeen City Parish Council.



PAROCHIAL BOARD OF ST. NICHOLAS, 1883.

Chairman—Baillie Alexander Duffus, Wholesale Confectioner. (1)

ELECTED BY THE MAGISTRATES.

Robert Donald, Engineer. (21)
Ex-Baillie John Ogilvie, Bookseller. (6)
Dean of Guild Macdonald, Merchant. (7)
Joseph Tennant, Draper. (10)

ELECTED BY THE KIRK-SESSION.

Ex-Baillie Wm. Findlay, Merchant. (5)
Ex-Baillie Wm. Graham, Baker. (18)
George Reid, Merchant. (34)
Dr. John Wight, Physician. (9)

ELECTED BY THE RATEPAYERS.

First Ward.

Francis B. Kelly, Clothier. (35)
Wm. Williams, House Proprietor. (15)
John Wilson, Builder. (16)
Alexander Badenoch, Clothier. (11)
Baillie Charles Gordon, Retired Shoemaker. (4)

Second Ward.

Wm. Gordon, Merchant. (20)
Charles Gordon Downie, Advocate. (8)
Ex-Baillie Robt. Henderson, Draper. (22)
John Webster, Iron Merchant, (14)
Charles Coutts, Druggist. (17)

Third Ward.

Baillie Alexander Duffus, Confectioner. (1)
John Croll, retired Baker. (2)
James Paterson, Draper. (19)
Alexander Inglis, Merchant. (3)
Andrew Craig, Merchant. (12)

Baillie Wm. Pyper, Merchant (13), joined the Board during the session.

MEDICAL OFFICERS.

Dr. James Burr. (23)
Dr. Alexander Reith. (24)
Dr. P. Blaikie Smith. (25)
Dr. Charles M. Crombie. (33)

OFFICIALS.

James Wallace, Inspector of Poor. (28)
Peter Diack, First Assistant. (27)
C. B. Williams, Second Assistant. (29)
George G. Christie, Collector of Rates. (26)
John Macaldowie, Auditor. (30)
Rev. Murdoch Mackay, M.A., Poorhouse Chaplain. (31)
Wm. Dalgleish, Poorhouse Governor. (32)

administration of the poor law was vested. The numbers and qualifications of the members were fixed within limits by the Board of Supervision. The Town Council and the Kirk Session, as representing the moribund administration, nominated members to the Parochial Board, the former sending four members, and the latter a number not exceeding four. A continuity of policy was thereby in part maintained, and the change of administration was bridged over. These managers acted for one year and were eligible for re-election. The ratepayers in electing their representatives to the Parochial Board had up to six votes each, in proportion to their rental.

3. In every rural parish where there had been no assessment the Parochial Board was to be composed of the old authority, namely, Kirk Session and Heritors, and was to continue to administer the law. If an assessment had been imposed, then the Parochial Board consisted of so many Heritors, so many of the Kirk Session, and then the ratepayers elected so many more members as in the case of the burghal parishes, every arrangement being subject to the approval of the Board of Supervision.

4. Parochial Boards had to meet at least twice annually. A roll of the poor had to be made, and a fit and qualified person appointed to act as Inspector of Poor.

5. Parochial Boards could raise money by assessment, and they fixed a method of assessment, subject always to the approval of the Board of Supervision. They could assess "according to any established usage" if it were approved by the Board of Supervision. There were two common methods:

(*a*) An assessment levied equally, in gross, in two halves, upon owners and occupiers of property according to the rental thereof.

(*b*) One half of the assessment levied upon the owners of property, and the other half either on the occupiers or on all the inhabitants of the parish, according to their "means and substance." The method of assessment could not be altered without the consent of the Board of Supervision.

(By the Poor Law Act of 1861 the former method, on ownership and occupancy of property, was alone made lawful, and continues to this day. See Chapter XI, "The Assessment in Aberdeen.")

6. The Parochial Board likewise appointed a Collector of Assessments, whose duty it was to compile an Assessment Roll. The office of Collector might be held by the Inspector of Poor. The Parochial Boards were empowered to exempt from payment of the assessment any persons or class of persons on the ground of inability to pay. Prior to the Act of 1845 ministers of the Established Church were exempt from paying poor rates. Section 49 of the Act of 1845 expressly enacted that "they were liable to be assessed for the poor in respect of their stipends." But this provision was applicable only in cases where the assessment was levied on "means and substance," and as this method of assessment was abolished in 1861, and as there was no express provision in the Act of 1845 to assess the minister in respect of his manse and glebe, he continued, and continues to this day, to be exempt from poor rates. The point was judicially decided in the House of Lords in 1852 (Forbes *v.* Gibson). Only ministers of *Quoad civilia* Parish Churches are exempt; all others pay poor rates.

7. The Parochial Board had no control of the parish church collections. The Kirk Session retained full power over these. But nothing in the Act of 1845 "was to be held to authorise the Kirk Session to apply the proceeds

of such church collections to purposes other than those to which the same are now legally applicable." By a Proclamation of the Privy Council, dated 29th August, 1693, it was ordained that the Kirk Session was to pay to the Heritors one-half of the church collections. The whole sum derived from collections during the year ended 15th May, 1919, was £59,562, of which £5,562 is stated to have been expended on the relief of the poor. But of this sum only £10 was handed over to the Parish Councils (the modern name of the Parochial Boards) to be expended on the poor. So it appears that the sum of £5,552 derived from church collections was applied by Kirk Sessions in their respective parishes to the relief of persons who required assistance. This shows that the Established Church has not yet wholly relinquished its old obligation for the care of the poor. All monies previously mortified or bequeathed to the poor were now, from and after a time to be fixed by the Board of Supervision, to be administered by the Parochial Boards or by the Kirk Sessions and others on behalf of the Parochial Boards.

8. The Inspector of Poor removed all insane persons to an institution legally authorised to receive the same when the friends of the insane failed to make provision for the patient.

9. All assessments were made applicable to occasional as well as to permanent poor, but able-bodied persons out of employment had no right to demand relief. Money disbursed upon stranger poor was recoverable from the parish of settlement. Persons who were refused relief were empowered to appeal to the Sheriff, but in cases of inadequate relief the appeal was made to the Board of Supervision.

10. A settlement was acquired by five years' continuous residence in a parish without begging, or application for relief, or receipt of it. A person from England, Ireland, or the Isle of Man, without a parish of settlement in Scotland, and becoming chargeable in Scotland, could be removed to his native country at the expense of the complaining parish. If he returned to Scotland he could be prosecuted as a vagabond under the Act of 1579, Cap. 74.

11. A husband or father neglecting his wife or children (or the established parents of illegitimate children) could be deemed to be a vagabond under the Act of 1579, Cap. 74, and could be prosecuted criminally.

12. In case of a Parochial Board neglecting its duty, the Board of Supervision could apply to the Court of Session for powers to do what to them seemed just and necessary.

13. All outstanding assessments could be recovered by warrant of the Sheriff, or Magistrate, or other judge. In cases of bankruptcy or insolvency, the poor rates were to be a first charge upon the proceeds of the estate.

14. Medical relief was provided for the poor by the Parochial Board in such manner and to such extent as might seem equitable and expedient.

This Act of 1845, whilst adding to and amending the previous legislation, was more important as providing a proper machinery for the administration of relief to the poor. No change was made in the description of persons legally entitled to relief. The Board of Supervision, the national central authority, suggested and corrected, called for returns, and took the initiative generally. It reported annually to Parliament.

The Constitution of a Parochial Board.

The first Minute Book of the Parochial Board of Newhills, marked No. 1, dates only from December, 1858. The following minute of election is copied therefrom:

December 24th, 1858.

The Annual Statutory Meeting of the Parochial Board of Newhills was held in the Court House of Aberdeen this day. An audited abstract was submitted and the rate of assessment fixed for the ensuing year 1858-1859:—Owners 7½d., Occupiers, for land 5½d., for dwellings 1/1, for manufacturing houses 8½d. [This unequal distribution of rate over occupiers gave rise to bitter complaints from the working classes.]

The following were chosen the Committee of the members of the Parochial Board for the ensuing year: Rev. James Adam, Chairman, Minister of the Parish; Mr. Alexander Whyte, Little Clinterty; Alexr. Burness, Esq., of Maestrick; Alexr. Davidson, Esq., of Desswood; Wm. Adam, Esq., of Ranna; Mr. Alexr. Aberdein, of Dykeside; Mr. Alexr. Rough, Gillahill; Mr. Robert Dawson, Auchmill; Mr. Charles Duguid, Grove.

The Inspector reported the following as the members appointed by the Kirk Session:—

Mr. James Stewart [schoolmaster], Mr. Alexr. Smith, Mr. John Fowler, Mr. John Fyfe. The Inspector was specially authorised by the meeting to borrow a sum for the purposes of the Parochial Board, not exceeding £200 sterling of principal, on an account current with the Union Bank of Scotland at their office in Aberdeen. The Inspector of Poor was re-elected. The elected members fall to be chosen on the 27th instant.

December 27th, 1858.

At Newhills within the Parish Church. At a meeting of the ratepayers qualified to elect elected members to serve at the Parochial Board of said parish for the year then ensuing, etc. Present (13 names). The Inspector stated that he had advertised the meeting in the *Aberdeen Journal* of the 15th inst., and affixed the same to the door of the Parish Church the two previous Sundays in terms of the law, etc. The following were proposed and unanimously elected, Mr. Alexr. Reith, Mains of Sclattie; Mr. Leslie Fyfe, Greenfearns; Mr. Andrew Jamieson, Wester Huxterstone; Mr. George Hutcheon, Woodside, Clinterty.

The Parochial Board, then, of Newhills, consisted of nine Heritors, four members of Kirk Session, and four

elected members. The Heritors had a clear majority over the others. Note, too, that the Heritors passed the accounts and fixed the rates at an annual meeting in Aberdeen.

With the spread of education, the working classes clamoured the more for equal suffrage.

The meetings were not well attended, eight being a good attendance out of eighteen. Once only three (a quorum) were present.

In 1881 the ratepayers petitioned the Board of Supervision for more representatives and were granted three more, while the Kirk Session got two more, and the heritors one less.

In 1882 another petition was sent seeking a new distribution of the occupiers' rate:—

	1847.	1882.	
Dwellings . .	1	1	Proportion of rate on occupiers.
Factories . .	½	⅔	
Lands . .	¼	⅓	

The St. Nicholas, or City of Aberdeen Parochial Board, consisted of four delegates appointed by the Magistrates and Town Council, four from the Kirk Session, and fifteen elected by the ratepayers. The Oldmachar Parochial Board consisted of six members of the Kirk Session, twenty elected by ratepayers, and all the heritors of £20 annual value and upwards. The electors consisted of all persons assessed for the poor in the parish except:

1. Owners of lands and heritages of the yearly value of £20 and upwards. These would have control as heritors.

2. Members of the Kirk Session, being, as such, members of the Parochial Board.

3. Persons exempted from payment of their poor rates on the ground of inability to pay.

CHAPTER XIV

Complaints about the Act of 1845.

ALREADY in 1849-1851 a series of articles entitled "Pauperism in Scotland—An Enquiry into its Management, with Suggestions for its Remedy,"[1] appeared in an Aberdeen newspaper called *The Banner* over the initials "W.H." The author was William Hutchison, the printer of the newspaper. This was a period of rapid change, industrially, politically, and socially. With the growing freedom of the press, public opinion was being more openly expressed; defects in the social order were exposed, and it was Hutchison, along with Dr. John Longmuir, who led the attacks in Aberdeen against the existing Poor Laws. His arguments are interesting.

He noted that Sir George Sinclair was conducting a campaign in Caithness for the abolition of the assessment. Hutchison admitted that the voluntary system of relief was the true Christian system, but, alas! society was not sufficiently Christian. Consequently no other method but the compulsory method was adequate and just. Lairds who formerly were lauded in the press for presenting £5 annually to the poor were now assessed to heavy amounts, even £40. No; the voluntary system was a Utopian dream. But the numbers of the poor might be reduced, through Christian influence, by industrious and provident habits, by temperance, and a high-toned morality.

[1] These articles appeared in book form in 1851 with the same title. See also "Hints on the Management of Lunatic Asylums, 1851."

Hutchison then attacked the Parochial Board. Why should the elders of the *Established Church only* be *ex-officio* members of the Board? They might be prejudiced against claimants for relief from the Free Churches. All the members of the Parochial Board, he thought, should be elected. (Legislation to this effect was passed in 1894.)

He next championed the cause of the unemployed; an able-bodied man if deprived of regular food would soon, with his family, be a bigger burden to the parish through weakness and disease. Refusal of relief led to begging, to cunning, deceit, and stealing; then to recklessness and crime, and general moral degradation. Not until 1921 was this clause altered, through the excessive unemployment after the Great War. In actual practice before 1921 the able-bodied were occasionally relieved to prevent their becoming a heavier burden as sick paupers. The Poor Law still maintains that children should be compelled to provide for their indigent parents, and Hutchison wanted this clause rigorously enforced. As a matter of fact, it is enforced to this day.

Of the 880 parishes in Scotland at the time when Hutchison was writing, in 1850, 280 were still without a regular assessment. For example, Ellon, in Aberdeenshire, with 73 paupers, assessed itself to the extent of £414. Cruden, a neighbouring parish, with 74 paupers, raised by church collections, plus a voluntary contribution, the sum of £305. The paupers in Ellon had £100 more spent on them annually, and yet were none too well off. Poor folk, therefore, tended to leave Cruden and to settle in Ellon. Hutchison believed that many poor folk came to settle in Aberdeen just to share in the assessment after acquiring a settlement. His remedy for this migration was a national assessment and not a parochial

one. With a central fund in Edinburgh, there would be no fear of being told every other year that the poor in the Highlands were dying of want. Hutchison's proposed national assessment has not come to pass. It is good that a local authority should give its sympathy to the poor, and try to check all moral degradation leading to pauperism, and hold the purse strings. Besides, Parish Councils, if spending money out of a central pool, would become reckless. To-day there are 869 parishes in Scotland and only two are unassessed for the poor, viz., Moonzie in Fifeshire, and Kettins in Forfarshire. Moonzie has 133 inhabitants, and Kettins has 723 (census, 1921).

As a corollary to a national assessment, Hutchison advocated one uniform method of levying the rate, namely, half on owners and half on occupiers of property, as the best in practice if not in theory. This method was adopted uniformly throughout Scotland in 1861, and still obtains.

As a further corollary to a national assessment Hutchison held, and rightly too, that the many disputes between parishes as to the settlement of a pauper would cease. In 1850 the sum of £5,719 7s. 1¾d. was spent in Scotland in inter-parochial litigation. This sum could be saved. At present, parishes less often resort to litigation. Disputing parishes, if agreed on the facts, usually state their case to the Scottish Board of Health, whose decision is final. Hutchison also complained of the difficulty experienced by a distant parish in fixing the settlement of a pauper Aberdonian in St. Nicholas or in Oldmachar if the pauper had frequently changed his abode within the city. This difficulty was overcome in 1894 when St. Nicholas and Oldmachar parishes were united in one city parish of Aberdeen. Again, remarked

Hutchison, a Highland parish could not afford to pay the high rate of aliment granted by a city like Aberdeen with its large assessable rental. Nowadays the parish of settlement frequently instructs the parish of residence to send on the case. The pauper can appeal against such removal to the Scottish Board of Health, as provided by Section 3 of the Poor Law Act of 1898.

The constitution of the Board of Supervision did not please Hutchison. He wanted to see it more democratic and more ready to deal with Parochial Boards that failed in their duty. The powers of the present day Scottish Board of Health might well be increased in various ways, e.g., in more effectively controlling the appointment of officials by Parish Councils; in authorising the compulsory removal of cases to the poorhouse on good cause being shown; in fixing aliment in cases of appeal without the necessity of compelling the poor person to go to the Court of Session, etc.

Hutchison held that the poorhouse was not a fitting place for the respectable poor who had fallen on evil days; home was the great civiliser. People thrust into a poorhouse were branded for ever. These ideas are being put into practice to-day. For example, twelve years ago a female teacher was employed full time in Oldmill Poorhouse; to-day there are no children of school age in *permanent* residence there; all such are boarded out in families. In fact, outdoor relief, and the boarding-out of pauper children, have always been the outstanding features of the Scottish Poor Law, and are becoming more and more so. Poorhouses are actually being disposed of in some areas, and none that remain are fully occupied. A limited amount of poorhouse accommodation will always be necessary for the morally degraded pauper, but the respectable poor should not be herded with such. For

some years back Oldmill Poorhouse has not been fully occupied, and a serious proposal has been made to make of it a large hospital to replace the Royal Infirmary and Sick Children's Hospital. With the new scheme in hand at Forresterhill, this one is likely to be dropped.

So far, Hutchison had restricted himself to a destructive criticism of the Act of 1845. His arguments were very pointed, and we have noted that many of his recommendations have been carried into effect by subsequent legislation. Even more admirable are his constructive criticisms and his suggestions of remedial measures. He agrees with Ricardo in thinking that while the poor will never cease out of the land, " no scheme for the amendment of the Poor Laws merits the least attention which has not their abolition for its ultimate object; and he is the best friend of the poor, and of the cause of humanity, who can point out how this can be attained with the most security, and at the same time, with the least violence."

" Pauperism," said Hutchison, " is a compound of many evils, springing from many causes, and any remedy offered must be of a many-sided character. Fundamental remedial measures are Temperance and Education, and subsidiary to these, is the necessity for Improved Dwellings for the working classes. A community, first sobered and then enlightened, cannot fail to make social progress."

These, and other suggestions of remedy, will be dealt with in a chapter at the end of this volume.

In 1871 George King, another Aberdonian, published a book of 74 pages, similar to Hutchison's work, and entitled " Modern Pauperism and the Scottish Poor Laws, including hints for the amendment of the Poor Law Act of 1845, with some suggestions for the amelioration and social elevation of the people."

CHAPTER XV

Subsequent Legislation Amending the Act of 1845.

WE have seen how the Act of 1845 was the legislative response to public opinion seventy-five years ago. Little by little the masses gained fuller representation in Parliament, and gave more articulate expression to their opinions, until nowadays the response by Parliament to public opinion is wonderfully quick. With the industrial evolution, and the economic and social changes accompanying it, frequent amendments were necessary to the Poor Law of Scotland. The following are some of the important amending and supplementing Acts:

The Poor Law (Scotland) Act, 1856.

The Board of Supervision was empowered to appoint two General Superintendents of the Poor to assist in the execution of the Poor Law Acts. This number has now, by arrangement with the Treasury, been increased to four. Their main duties are to examine expertly the work of the Inspectors of Poor in the parishes assigned to them, and to make enquiries anent questions and appeals submitted to the central authority. The General Superintendents' duties are not now confined to the Poor Law. They embrace more or less inquiries into all the functions over which the Central Department has control. On the passing of the Public Health Act of 1867 they became Inspecting Officers under that Act.

By this Act of 1856 the period allowed for the repayment of sums borrowed by Parochial Boards (e.g., for the

building of poorhouses, etc.) was extended from ten to thirty years.

The Poor Law (Scotland) No. 2 Act, 1861.

The power of Parochial Boards to assess for the poor on the basis of "means and substance" was taken away, except where the usage was long established. Greenock was the last to give up the "means and substance" system in 1880. Henceforth the Poor Rates were levied uniformly in Scotland, half upon the rentals of owners, and half upon the rentals of occupiers of property.

The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894.

This Act brought some very considerable changes in the machinery for administering Poor Law. Like the Act of 1845, it had a precursor in England. Its object was to quicken the pulse of rural self-government, by setting up *directly* representative and popularly elected bodies. It changed the constitution of the bodies set up by the Act of 1845 for the administration of the Poor Laws, and in rural districts entrusted them with additional powers. We shall restrict our remarks to the changes affecting the Poor Law.

1. *The Board of Supervision.* This central authority was replaced by the Local Government Board of Scotland, which was differently constituted. This new body consisted of the Secretary for Scotland as President, the Under-Secretary for Scotland, the Solicitor-General, and three salaried members appointed by the Crown, viz., a Vice-President, a member of the Faculty of Advocates of not less than seven years' standing, and a medical practitioner with qualifications or experience in Public Health. In short, the *Honorary* Board of Supervision was replaced by a Bureaucracy with a growing number of officials.

This new Board exercised an effective control over the new Parish Councils (which replaced the Parochial Boards), by appointing auditors for the parish books, and by more closely supervising all the duties of the Inspectors of Poor and other parochial officials. It approved of the number of Parish Councillors as fixed by Town or County Council, granted powers to raise loans, and gave decisions in various matters that arose or were submitted to it by the Parish Councils and their officials. It could order an inquiry into any action on the part of a Parish Council or of a parish official if it was not satisfied. In short, the Local Government Board was an effective check upon all the actions of Parish Councils and of their servants. It might dismiss an Inspector of Poor or a Poorhouse Medical Officer. It had no statutory power to remove a Parish Medical Officer save in the parishes to which later on the Highlands and Islands (Medical Service) Grant Act, 1913, applied. But it reserved to itself such power in the rules applicable to the Medical Relief Grant. As most parishes participated in the grant, it followed that the Local Government Board in these cases might dismiss the Medical Officer on good cause shown. Under the above Act of 1913, which applied only to the counties of Argyll, Caithness, Inverness (excluding the Burgh of Inverness), Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Orkney and Shetland, and the Highland part of Perth, the Local Government Board had specific power to dismiss a Medical Officer. The grants to Parish Councils in aid of medical relief, pauper lunacy, and trained Sick Nursing in poorhouses, were paid by the Secretary for Scotland on the recommendation of the Local Government Board in the case of each parish. By the Ministry of Health Act (1919) the duties of the Local Government Board passed to the

Scottish Board of Health. In other words, the relief of poverty is now looked upon as a part of the nation's duty to maintain the health of the people. *Salus populi suprema lex.*

2. The Parochial Board was replaced by the Parish Council. The Parochial Board, representing the owners of property and only the large ratepayers, was always anxious to keep down expense. The terms " parish " and " parochial " came to be synonymous with whatever was petty and mean. The elected members were voted upon only by the property owners and large tenants, and voting power was in proportion to rental. The members of the new Parish Council were *all* elected, and the franchise was extended to all householders irrespective of sex, with equal voting power. Parish Councils were elected not for one year, but for three years. Large parishes were divided into wards for voting purposes. Power was given to alter the boundaries of parishes. For instance, a burgh might contain two or more civil parishes or parts of parishes; the boundaries could be so altered as to make the burgh and the parish conterminous, or an entirely new parish might be erected. Thus the parish of St. Nicholas and part of the parish of Oldmachar were united (1894) to form the new City Parish of Aberdeen. The Parish Councils in rural parishes inherited all the functions of the Parochial Boards for the administration of the Poor Law, and received many additional duties. It is very important to note that this Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894, did not change the Poor Law administration, but only the administering body. The Scottish Poor Law System continued to rest upon the great Acts of 1579 and 1845, and upon the modifications made thereon from time to time.

The chief duties of the Parish Council to-day might be summarised thus:

1. It revises and adjusts the roll of poor.
2. It fixes the amount of relief in each case.
3. It appoints an Inspector of Poor and assistants.
4. It imposes and collects the poor rate.
5. It gives exemptions from payment of rates on the ground of inability to pay.
6. It institutes and defends Poor Law actions.
7. It supervises and maintains pauper lunatics.
8. It provides medical attendance to the sick poor.
9. It relieves the destitute, and in the case of "stranger poor" has recourse against the parish of settlement.
10. It raises loans if necessary.
11. It may erect, or combine in erecting, asylums and poorhouses.
12. It has important duties in the administration of the Children's Act, 1908, Vaccination Act, etc.
13. It can administer, by special authority, the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1904, for neglect of children.

The Poor Law (Scotland) Act, 1898.

This Act reduced the period necessary to gain a residential settlement from five to three years. It also devised a means of settling disputes between parishes out of court. Two or more parishes who agreed as to the statement of the facts of a case in dispute were invited to refer their disputes regarding settlement to the Local Government Board for arbitration, the decision of the Board to be final and binding. It also decreed that English or Irish paupers who had resided five years in Scotland (one of these in the parish where application was made for relief) could not be removed furth of Scotland. Paupers could also, subject to certain conditions, appeal

to the central authority against being removed from the parish in which they made application for relief.

The Scottish Board of Health Act, 1919.

Under this Act the Local Government Board ceased to exist, and its members were incorporated with the new Board formed under the Act, and styled the "Scottish Board of Health." This Board has all the powers and functions of the Local Government Board as far as the administration of the Poor Law is concerned. It is the declared intention of the Act "that in the event of provision being made by Act of Parliament, passed in the present or any future session for the revision of the law relating to the relief of the poor in Scotland, and the distribution amongst other authorities of any powers exerciseable by Parish Councils, there shall be transferred from the Board to other Government Departments such of the powers or duties under the enactments relating to the relief of the poor, then vested in the Board (not being powers or duties relating or incidental to the health of the people), as appear to His Majesty to be such as would be more conveniently exercised and performed by such other departments."

Up to the present no such contemplated reform of the administration of the Poor Laws has taken place. The question of a Reformed Local Authority for Health and Public Assistance has, however, been raised and reported on to the Scottish Board of Health by the Consultative Council on Local Health Administration and General Health Questions. In passing, it may be said that this body recommends smaller areas of administration and the abolition of Parish Councils. It is suggested that the functions of Parish Councils should be transferred to the County and Town Councils.

CHAPTER XVI

Mortifications and Hospitals for the Poor in Aberdeen after the Reformation.

CONTEMPORANEOUS with the period of peace after the Union of the Crowns, 1603-38, and of interest in the poor, is a long list of bequests or mortifications of money on behalf of the poor. Previous to the Reformation the wealthy had the practice of making bequests to the Church at large or to the monasteries, but rarely with a definite provision for the poor. The use of the endowments was entirely at the discretion of the clergy. After the Reformation large sums were bequeathed to the poor and to the hospitals with this difference, that the Kirk Session or Town Council were regularly made the legal trustees, with personal responsibility for the administration of the funds entirely on behalf of the poor. In the *Mortifications under the Charge of the Town Council of Aberdeen* (printed 1849) there are 254 pages of deeds, and of these 112 pages belong to the short period 1572-1638.

In this period of sixty-six years there are no fewer than seventy mortifications by leading citizens in Aberdeen on behalf of the poor or the hospitals. It was evidently considered the right thing for citizens to make bequests of this kind. We can infer that the citizens of Aberdeen were satisfied that such monies would be well spent by the local administrators. Another fair inference is that

money was urgently required for such purposes. Here is a typical example, dated 20th November, 1611:

> The quhilk day, in presence of the Bailleis and counsall, comperit George Moresoun, burges of the said burgh, executour to umquhill David Fergussoun, burges thairof, his father-in-law, and declarit that the said umquhill David in his legacie and letter will, had left the soume of Tuentie pundis money to the Beadmen within Sanct Thomas Hospitall of this burght.[1]

In one endowment for the poor, it is expressly stated that the giver is to be free of all future taxation for the poor. We shall see how these bequests will cease entirely with the growing menace of a tax for the poor.

For the present value of these mortifications individually, see Aberdeen City Accounts, 1921-1922, pages 38 to 86. The following is a summary for 1921-1922:

Stock.	Purpose.	Revenue.
£93,996	Education	£4,476
13,382	Orphans	584
38,937	Charitable	1,636
17,736	Religion	568
7,261	Medical Institutions	361
2,681	Miscellaneous	96
		£7,721

And now, what of the hospitals in Aberdeen after the Reformation?

St. Thomas's Hospital.

This hospital continued to carry on its work under the guidance of the Town Council, and was the object of many mortifications just after the Reformation. The Kirk Session, too, took an interest in it, as it was situated close to the church. The fines imposed by the Session in the year 1577 were bequeathed to it. The Session further approved of the appointment of a Master of the Hospital

[1] *Aberdeen Mortifications*, page 17.

by the Town Council, namely, David Cargill, who was also made Master of the Leper Hospital.[1] In 1574 there were only four decayed Burgesses of Guild in it, and their annual allowance was only £10 Scots " till they should be better provided for."[2] But with the increase of mortifications, allowances were increased in number and value. In 1600 the Burgesses of Guild agreed to make certain contributions as follows[3]:

1. All fines (for swearing, gambling, injuring, etc.) imposed on merchants passing to foreign countries.

2. All monies promised to the poor in time of distress or stormy weather when in peril of their lives.

3. Every merchant who washes his head in France, Flanders or Dantzig, to give and collect to the box, for the honour of God, and for their poor and needy brethren, and their wives and bairns.

4. Every person admitted burgess of guild to pay at the time of his admission 6s. 8d. Scots.

5. Every Godspenny at the making of any bargain, or freight of ships to be paid to the box.

In 1609 the artificers or tradesmen by Act of Council were excluded from the benefit of the hospital for declining to contribute to its maintenance.[4] In 1631, as money accrued, the building was repaired and considerably enlarged, and the beadsmen were each allowed annually £100 Scots for their maintenance. The inmates of this hospital were all bachelors.

We have, fortunately, a good description of Aberdeen, written in 1661 by James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay. It was written in English, and bore the title " Abredoniæ utriusque descriptio topographica."

[1] *Kirk Session Records*, 22nd May, 1578.
[2] *Burgh Records*, 28th February, 1574.
[3] Kennedy's *Annals*, vol. ii, page 80.
[4] *Burgh Records*, 1st March, 1609.

" A description of bothe touns of Aberdeene." There is also a good bird's eye sketch of the towns as they were then. The various hospitals in both towns are drawn on the map and described by the author. The " Towns Hospitall," a smallish building with a spire rising from the centre, is situated just east of the City Church.

> Hard by the east end of the New Church is situated the Beidhouse or touns hospitall, pairted from the church by a small lane interjected betwixt thame. The use of that hospitall is for maintenance of a certaine number of burgess, or guild bretheren as they call them, quho become depauperat. Off old ther stood a chappell ther, dedicated to Sainct Thomas. Next to it eastward, stands another hospitall, which the dyers societie of Aberdein have very laitlie erected for the use of the societie.

This is the same pre-Reformation St. Thomas's Hospital, known after the Reformation as the Guild Brethren's Hospital. Its function was a refuge for aged and infirm burgesses, as distinguished from tradesmen. We found before that, with the loss of endowments at the Reformation, the income of the hospital was small and the inmates few in number. In 1653 the beadsmen[1] petitioned the Council for an increase of their allowance, and were granted one half mark more per day. In 1771, after the Royal Infirmary was built, the few inmates received permission to live with friends, and this hospital was discontinued. The building and site were exposed for sale in April, 1772.[2] It was purchased by the congregation of the First Secession Church in Aberdeen (founded 1757 by the seceding Evangelicals of the East Parish Church), who had so far been worshipping in a barn where now the North U.F. Church stands, and then in a renovated tobacco warehouse at the corner of Virginia Street and Weighhouse Square. The

[1] *Burgh Records*, 16th Nov., 1653.
[2] *Book of the Melville U.F. Church Bazaar*, page 27.

old hospital was pulled down and a church erected on the site. The manse built alongside the church in Netherkirkgate was pulled down in 1808 to make way for St. Nicholas Street. The congregation removed to the present Melville U.F. Church in 1903.

When this old hospital was sold, the money was the origin of that part of the city's public funds known as the Guild Brethren's Hospital Funds, from which grants are made annually to necessitous burgesses. The revenue in 1921-1922, mostly from feu-duties and trust investments, amounted to £935 16s. 11d. Allowances amounting to £500 were paid to decayed burgesses of guild, burgesses' widows and children.

As regards the internal organisation of the hospital before its sale, the Town Council laid down regulations for the inmates in 1660.[1] The inmates were unmarried men, and wore a russet gown. Every day they had to attend church, where a desk was reserved for them. They were not allowed to roam the streets nor to frequent taverns. Every morning they met in the refectory to hear prayers for the King, the Church, and their benefactors, after which one of their number read a chapter of the Bible. Every evening these religious exercises were repeated. Nevertheless, despite the restraint of the mistress of the house, there were frequent dissentions, when the Magistrates had to be called in. Accordingly the Council determined in 1771 to abolish the hospital and to give each beadman an allowance in money in lieu of board and lodging.

Revenue of Master of Guild Brethren's Hospital.[2]

1780 . . .	£271 12 0
1833 . . .	513 15 6
1841 . . .	575 1 6
1922 . . .	935 16 11

[1] Kennedy's *Annals* II, page 81.
[2] *Burgh Records*, 1st March, 1609.

Trades Hospital.

As the tradesmen had been excluded from the benefit of the Town's hospital in 1609, they were compelled to found an institution of their own. They were encouraged by the generosity of one of the city's two ministers, Dr. William Guild, afterwards Principal of King's College. In 1632 this minister, who had acquired the Holy Trinity Monastery, founded a hospital there for indigent tradesmen. He presented to them the whole of the buildings and the church and the churchyard. King Charles I, by Royal Charter dated 24th June, 1633, confirmed the foundation. The Town Council gave two hundred marks annually for five years, while the various incorporated trades contributed as handsomely as their various funds admitted, viz., Hammermen, £533 6s. 8d.; Bakers, £200; Wrights and Coopers, £360; Tailors, £200; William Garden, Convener of Wrights and Coopers, £139; Cordwainers, £233 6s. 8d.; Thomas Ardes' Bond for Cordwainers, £70; Weavers, £200 (while the Fleshers gave £266 13s. 4d. on 11th April, 1657).[1] With these funds the buildings of the monastery were repaired, and a master of hospital was appointed, who was director of the institution. A public hall was erected within the grounds (opposite Labour Bureau, Market Street) for the meetings of the Convener Court. Dr. Guild was elected first patron, and was succeeded by another minister of the Established Church, elected for life as decreed in the foundation. The Hospital was administered by the Convener and his Court, in all thirty-three members, including the seven deacons in office, the seven deacons of the previous year, and the seven boxmasters of the various trades; a master from each incorporated trade, the master

[1] *Convener Court Book*, 15th June, 1632, and 11th April, 1657; and Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen*, Vol. ii, page 239.

of hospital, etc. Numerous and handsome bequests were made to this hospital in land, house property, etc.

This building appears in Parson Gordon's map as a much bigger building than St. Thomas's Hospital, and has a spire at the east end.

> The cities of Aberdeen and Air have this speciall priviledge alone amongst all the touns of Scotland, that no tradsman or artisan can be burges, or exercise forrayne tred; which hes been often the occasione of great stryff betwixt the burgeses and tradsmen, and sometymes hes come to bloodshed; the tradsmen seeking in vaine for to be made partakers of that priviledge, and to be endenized, and the burgeses obstinatlie manteening ther old priviledge and richt.

As a result of this strife the tradesmen had to find a hospital for themselves, which Gordon described thus in 1661:

> The Trinitie Church standeth upon the water syde (Trinity Quay). Besyde it is the Tradsmen of Aberdeens Hospitall. First it was King Williames dwelling place, and it wes a convent to the Trinitie Freers, quho were drivne from thence long agoe. The societies of the tradsmen of Aberdeen began to repair the ruinous church and buildings thereof anno 1630, at their expenses; towards Which Dr. William Guild did contribute a considerable sowme, and severallie mortified ane liveliehood to ane quho should be a constant catechist at that churche.

The trades had not been very wealthy then, for they required to ask help from the Town Council for their hospital.

> They humblie desyrit thair wisdomes of the Counsell to grant unto thame thair charitabill help and support thair unto, for the quhilk they sall endeavour to approve thame selffis thankfull, and both redie and forward in anything concerning the guid and weil of the toune.[1]

The Council granted 200 marks yearly for five years, considering the "necessitie and gudness of the wark, to the behoof of the decayit craftismen quho sall happen to

[1] *Burgh Records*, 19th September, 1632.

ENTRANCE TO TRADES HOSPITAL (PREVIOUSLY THE TRINITY MONASTERY).

(Founded in 1633).

By permission of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades.

be admitit in the said Hospitall as bedalls thairoff." This grant was made conditional upon the tradesmen behaving properly towards the burgesses and sharing the burdens of the city for the common weal. Over the gateway were the following inscriptions:

"Fundavit Gulielm' Scot 1181," referring to the foundation of the monastery by King William, with the Imperial Crown and ensigns armorial underneath. Then

> "To ye glorie of God
> And comfort of the Poore
> This Hows was given
> To the crafts by Mr. William
> Guild, Doctour of Divinitie
> minister of Abd; 1633."

with the family arms of Dr. Guild, and the letters D.W.G. foundator, and the words "He — That — Pitieth — The — Poore — Lendeth — To — The — Lord — And — That — which — He — Hath — Given — Will — He — Repay — Prov. 19. 17."

In 1854, when Guild Street was constructed, and the Trades had to leave the old monastery site, this gateway was removed entire, and built into the wall of their new hall (Trinity Hall, retaining the name of the Trinity Friars) on the railway side at the basement entrance from Denburn Road. Then when the new marble staircase was built inside, the sculptured and inscribed stones of this old gateway were built in over the inside door giving entrance to the large hall, and overlooking the staircase. There they are safe from the weather.

In the Charter, Dr. Guild laid down regulations for the administration of the hospital. The following points of interest are translated from the Latin:

1. Know ye that I, to the glory of God, for the comfort of the needy, and to afford to others a good example of charity towards the poor, whom our Lord Jesus Christ has to the end of the world left amongst us, and recommended to us, to be fed, clothed and cherished, have founded, gifted and perpetually mortified to the free craftsmen, etc.

2. None shall be brought into that hospital, or enjoy the fruits of this mortification, save good, pious, and sober men.

3. No woman shall dwell in the hospital or stay therein for a moment. The beadmen shall wear gowns of a single decent colour and shall not wander in the streets. Any inmate, for disobedience or bad behaviour, shall be punished in his person, or dismissed, and the patron-preacher and deacon-convener shall choose another poor man in his place.

4. Any inmate absent (except through sickness) from daily prayers in their own chapel (9 to 10 and 3 to 4) shall be admonished, punished, or, at the third offence, dismissed. They shall also attend Sunday and weekly sermons, and public morning and evening prayers.

5. One of the inmates shall be janitor weekly, to open and close the doors and gates and ring the bell. Routine daily: Doors opened at 7.30; bell rung for public prayers in church: bell rung at 9 and 3 for prayers and scripture reading in chapel; Thence to private rooms to work at trade till 11 a.m., and 6 p.m., when they assemble in common hall to dine and sup, thanks being first offered by the janitor.

It is interesting to note this close connection of craftsmen with the Church. Before the Reformation the craftsmen had been dependent upon the clergy for all instruction in religion, literature, recreation, and social intercourse, in the form of pageants, ceremonials, miracle plays, for which each body of craftsmen was called in to combine for the purpose of finding banners, ornaments, etc.

Thus they were led to combine for mutual aid in sickness and old age. This connection of the craftsmen with the Church proved disastrous to their associations at the Reformation, on suspicion of their being superstitious foundations. In England, by Act of Parliament, their properties reverted to the Crown. The Aberdeen

Trades had each maintained a chaplain and contributed handsomely to the Church, and after the Reformation the Trades summoned the Magistrates before the Privy Council of Scotland for appropriating the revenues and ornaments of the Church and the common good. There is no record of the decision in this action.[1] Naturally the craftsmen were lukewarm towards the new religion, and compulsion was exercised to make them attend church regularly. This handsome benefaction by Dr. Guild, minister of the Reformed Church, did much to bring the crafts and the Church together. *Bain*, page 150, is illuminating here:

> Dr. Guild purchased the Trinity Monastery and Chapel for the purpose of founding an hospital and providing a meeting house for the Incorporated Trades, and it may truly be said that to this benefaction the remarkable financial prosperity of the Aberdeen Trades is largely due. Up to that time they had existed as detached bodies; their meetings were held in the Deacons' houses, or public ale-houses; they did not possess any common bond of union. The Convener Court existed more in name than in reality. It had no functions recognised by law; the Deacon-Convener's office was honorary, not administrative, and his services were sought only on the occasion of public demonstrations and festivals, or to convene the craftsmen to take common action with regard to their trading privileges. The funds of the individual Trades were also at this time but trifling. All the money that was collected during the year barely met law expenses and the pressing necessities of the poor. A very small sum indeed would represent the total wealth of the Trades, when they became linked together under the charter obtained by Dr. Guild from Charles I for the administration of their common hospital.
>
> Viewed from a mere money point of view, Dr. Guild's benefaction was not so very large, but looked at as the main factor in establishing a visible bond of unity among the craftsmen, and taking into account the spirit of mutual helpfulness which he encouraged during the twenty years that he continued to take an active part in the affairs of the Trades and the Hospital, the influence of Dr. Guild's gift upon the trades of Aberdeen cannot be over-estimated.

[1] *Bain*, page 66.

> He was, as his contemporaries well knew, and were always ready to acknowledge, a sagacious man of business as well as an able ecclesiastic. He was quick to perceive what the craftsmen were most in need of; and he helped them to supply that need in a manner that reflected credit on his sagacity and foresight; in short he made the motto of the craftsmen, "Vis unita fortior" a living reality, and to him more than to any other man were due that concord and unity which have enabled the craft burgesses in Aberdeen to hold their own against their more wealthy brethren, and to accumulate funds for assisting the aged, the widowed, and the fatherless. Dr. Guild was also instrumental in inducing a number of other generous citizens to assist in establishing the Hospital.
>
> (See *Bain*, page 348, "Donations and Bequests to the Seven Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen.")

In 1688 the Trades decided to appoint a minister of their own for their chapel,[1] for two reasons, viz., for the profit and advantage of all the tradesmen in Aberdeen, and for the spiritual good of the old and decayed persons in the hospital close by. In 1794, on the site of the old chapel, a new church was erected by a section of the congregation of the East Church, who were displeased with a minister presented to them. It took the name Trinity Church, which, when the new Trinity Church was built in Marischal Street, became the Alhambra Music Hall. It is now the Imperial Works of Messrs. Drummond and Company, and quite visible from Guild Street.

The hospital was carried on by the Trades until 1800, when inmates could not be found willing to live within it. A change was made in the charter in 1803:

> And as for some years past no person has been found willing to live as a beedman in the hospital, in case persons properly qualified and desirous of admission into the said hospital shall not be found after every endeavour has been used for that purpose for the space of two years, Then the managers shall have it in their power to distribute the revenue or profits of the foresaid funds in such way and

[1] *Bain*, page 159.

manner as they may judge most beneficial to the poor tradesmen of the whole Incorporated Trades, they being always of the description and character required by the original deed of foundation, but that the funds shall never be applied but for the support of beedmen in the hospital when such can be found. It being also understood that the trades shall still have right to hold their meetings in the hospital as they have hitherto done.

In the empty hospital buildings there was established in 1808 a Trades School, under the following resolution:

1. That the lower rooms of the Trinity House be set apart and fitted up for the schoolhouse, the expense to be defrayed from the fabric money.

2. That six pounds sterling be annually paid from the funds of each of the seven Incorporations, and of the hospital, making altogether £48 annually—the whole or part of which to be paid as salary to the master, etc.

The extension of the railway to Aberdeen, and the making of Guild Street and Exchange Street, sealed the fate of the old Trades buildings. This was in 1845, just when the special privileges of craftsmen were being withdrawn by the coming Act of 1846. The last of the old hospital buildings was taken down in 1857. Deacon Alexander Robb, a local poet, sang the grief of the craftsmen:

> But whare's the use o' waefu' skirlin',
> Lat us a' be happy yet,
> Altho' rail trains will soon be dirlin'
> O'er the spot where now we sit.
> O, never lat us be downhearted,
> Lat us drive dull care awa',
> Nor think our glory is departed,
> Whan we leave our ancient ha'.

The new Trades Hall, the modern Trinity Hall, Union Bridge, was erected in 1846, and opened on 6th November 1847. The lower rooms, with entrance from Denburn Road, were used as a school until 1878; the Education (Scotland) Act, 1874, made education free

and compulsory, and the Trades School was no longer required.

For our purpose it is important to note that the Master of Hospital was frequently entrusted by all the Trades to organise their charitable work in times of dearth and when distress was more than usually prevalent. Before the Poor Law system was established, the Trades extended their charity to all connected with them, journeymen as well as their own regular members; and as the great bulk of the benefit was given in food and clothes, the Master of Hospital bought in all the supplies, making purchases of meal to the extent of eighteen hundred bolls at a time. Each trade got its proportionate share for distribution, the boxmasters having charge of the girnals in which the meal was stored.

Bursaries for Poor Students.

In 1655, Dr. Guild left 5,000 marks (or certain properties) to the Master of Hospital and Deacon-Convener of the crafts, for "ye intertaining of thrie poore boyes yt ar craftsmen's sounes, as bursers in the new colledge of Aberdeine [Marischal College] yt ar of good ingynes, and able for ye said colledge." These bursaries are awarded to this day.

The following comparative table, showing the amount of the allowances paid to widows, annuitants, orphans, etc., for 1837, 1886, and 1922, will give an indication of their financial prosperity during the past 100 years:

	1837.	1886.	1922.
Hammermen .	£899 3 6	£1,481 4 7	£1,728 0 0
Bakers . .	237 0 0	1,056 1 9	900 0 0
Wrights & Coopers	384 11 0	906 18 1	675 3 1
Tailors . .	403 14 2	937 4 4	1,200 0 0
Shoemakers .	250 10 10	808 9 11	1,000 0 0
Weavers . .	191 9 3	212 6 11	232 0 0

Fleshers . .	£121 18 0	£223 7 0	£850 0 0
Widows' Fund (1771)	444 0 0	1,224 13 0	1,188 0 0
Supplementary Widows' Fund (1816)	11 10 0	225 0 0	420 0 0
Trades' Hospital .	563 7 9	835 4 2	1,200 0 0
Bursaries . .	40 0 0	155 11 6	200 0 0
	£3,547 4 6	£8,166 1 3	£9,593 3 1

The Leper Hospital.

Such as goe out at the Gallowgaite Port toward Old Aberdeen, halff way almost, may see the place wher of old stood the lepers hospitall, called the Seich Hous, hard by the waye syd, to which ther was a chappell adjoyned, dedicated to St. Anna, quhome the papists account patronesse of the leapers. The citizens licencit one Mr. Alexander Gallaway then person [i.e., parson] of Kinkell, for to build that chappell anno 1519. Now both thes buildings are gone, and scarcelie is the name knowne to many. (Parson Gordon, 1661.)

This hospital was no longer required, as leprosy had disappeared from Scotland with the sixteenth century. Gordon's map shows the ruins of the Leper House to the east of King's Crescent, where now there is a bowling green, at the east end of Nelson Street.

Kirk Session Records, 13th May, 1604:

The said day, the sessioun ordanis Helene Smyth ane puir woman infectit with leprosie, to be put in the hospitall appoyntit for keiping and haulding of lipper folkis betwixt the townis, and ordors the keyis of the said hospitall to be deliverit to hir.

This was most probably the last case for the Leper Hospital in Aberdeen.

Upon the outbreak of plague the Town Council, as we found before, erected temporary isolation hospital accommodation on the links, and all afflicted with plague had to remove thither.

A very serious outbreak was recorded in 1647.

It is heir to be rememberit that in respect of the seiknes increasing, thair was no counsell keipit till the day of electioun in Septr 1647, quhilk election wes hauldin at the Womanhill (i.e., in Gilcomston, outside the city).—*Burgh Records*, 11th August, 1647.

In connection with this same outbreak, Thom (*History of Aberdeen*, 1811, page 330) says that the University was carried on in Fraserburgh and Peterhead, that 1,600 died in Aberdeen, and 140 in Torry and Footdee (i.e., about one-third of the population—another reason to account for no increase of population 1600-1700).

Human bones have frequently been unearthed in the Links, and it is believed that these were the remains of the plague victims. The dead were buried in common pits close to their hutments. This disease may well have been engendered in the city by the entire absence of sanitary arrangements, by the stagnant marshy loch to the north-west, and the huge middens everywhere in the narrow streets. Frequent bad harvests providing insufficient and inferior food for the poor rendered the lower classes incapable of resisting the disease. It is worthy of note that the modern City Isolation Hospital for infectious diseases is near the Links—where the plague hospitals used to be.

Bishop Dunbar's Hospital.

Upon the west end of Machar Church, in the street interjected, stands the hospitall, founded by B. Gavine Dunbar for the manetinance of 12 poore men; the revenues thereoff much diminished in our dayes; and the old men quho live ther are litle better then beggars.

The hospital is shown in Gordon's map where now the entrance gate to Seaton House is, at the end of the Chanonry, on the north side of the Tillydrone Road. It had a belfry and a spire in the middle. Although it really fell to the Crown at the Reformation, the duties of the beadsmen having become illegal, the Protestant bishops continued to administer its diminished revenues

till 1688, when bishops were finally abolished. Thereupon King William bestowed the patronage and administration of this hospital upon the Principal and Sub-Principal of King's College, and the minister of Oldmachar jointly, *ad vitam aut culpam*. As there is no University Sub-Principal now, the managers are now only two in number. Orem, in his *Description of Old Aberdeen*, 1725, page 168, etc., said that there were eight men in the hospital, each receiving 50s. Scots per month. The hospital likewise received 100 loads of peats per annum and a side of beef at Yule, with gifts from friends at odd times. They also received a portion of the sentence money from the half-yearly Commissary Courts in Old Aberdeen. In 1786 the proprietor of Seaton, wishing to make an avenue from the Chanonry to Seaton House, arranged to excamb the hospital and its site for a large house in Don Street, where the beadsmen lived for a few years. As in the case of both the Guild Brethren's Hospital and the Tradesmen's Hospital, this method of life for old men proved irksome, and the house and site were sold about 1810, and the price added to the other revenues, while the old men annuitants were allowed to live with friends. Several bequests and donations had been made to the hospital, and in 1818 Kennedy (page 315) mentions the funds as worth £2,000, with the number of annuitants as eighteen, as at present. The following reference is from the Minutes of the Parochial Board of Newhills, dated 12th July, 1862:

> James Gill's aliment was ordered to be discontinued on account that he was now admitted to the funds of Bishop Gavin Dunbar's Hospital, Old Aberdeen, and his wife Catherine McAllan admitted in his stead, on the Poor's Roll of the Parish of Newhills at an allowance of 1/6 per week.

The minister of Oldmachar Cathedral, the Rev. Dr. Bruce McEwan, who died recently, held that this award

must have been an irregularity, because eligibility for poor law relief has always been a disqualification and not in conformity with the original bequest. The number of beneficiaries is still the same, eighteen, and the payment to each is about £7 per annum, plus two salmon from the Don. The money comes from feu-duties and rents, most of which are the original endowments of 1531. The trust owns some of the oldest property in Old Aberdeen.

Mention is made of two small hospitals in Skene's *Succinct Survey of Aberdeen*, page 220 (1685), namely, the Litsters' Hospital and the Hospital for Widows and Virgins of Brethren of Guild. It appears, too, that the Knights Templars had a hospital in pre-Reformation times about Justice Street.

Robert Gordon's Hospital.

Robert Gordon (son of Arthur Gordon, advocate in Aberdeen, one of the Pitlurg Gordons), a successful merchant in Dantzig, retired home to Aberdeen early in the eighteenth century. It appears that he latterly denied himself all comforts in life in order to found a hospital for the maintenance and education of (*a*) sons of decayed burgesses of certain family names, (*b*) sons of decayed tradesmen of the seven Incorporated Trades, and (*c*) sons of Aberdonians in general. Robert Gordon died in 1732, and his whole estate passed in trust for this purpose to the Provost, Baillies, Town Council, and four ministers of Aberdeen. To these the University (Marischal College) feued the land of the Black Friars between the School Hill and the loch as a site for the hospital. Owing to the disturbances of the '45, at which time it served as a barracks, and lack of funds, the building was not occupied till 1750 by 26 boys of from nine to twelve years. The number increased with the

increase of funds. In 1772 the Governors were granted a Charter of full powers by the Crown.

The boys were fed, housed, clothed, and educated up to the age of 16, when they were apprenticed to a trade of their own choosing. The internal regulations now seem rather stern. Religious instruction occupied a prominent place. In 1816 a fine addition to the resources was made by Alexander Simpson of Colliehill, who left estates in New Deer and Old Deer of an annual revenue of £700 sterling (subject to certain life rents) " for entertaining and educating in Robert Gordon's Hospital in Aberdeen, or in any other buildings to be added thereto, an additional number of indigent male children and male grandchildren of decayed merchants and brethren of Guild of the Burgh of Aberdeen in the first instance, and failing these, male children born in the said burgh, sons or grandsons of persons who have been residenters in the said burgh of Aberdeen, who are indigent and cannot maintain themselves." In 1830-1833 the east and west wings were added, and from 1838 the Colliehill Trustees elected twenty-six additional foundationers to the Hospital, which number was increased to 40 in 1865.

This arrangement continued until 1881 when, under a provisional order, the boarding system ceased, and Robert Gordon's College, a fine secondary school, was established, giving from its endowments handsome financial assistance to promising sons of indigent parents. The new Coat of Arms included the arms of Gordon and of Simpson, and part of the arms of the city of Aberdeen, with the quotation from Virgil, " *Omni nunc arte magistra.*" See *History of Robert Gordon's Hospital* by Robert Anderson, 1896; and Robert Cruickshank, 1866; *Robert Gordon and His Hospital* by Alexander Walker, 1876, 1886, and 1897.

The Poor's Hospital.

Fletcher of Saltoun told us how Aberdeenshire was infested with strolling beggars at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The civil strife, however, was abating, and practically ceased after the '45. As the century grew older, the population of Aberdeen increased with the growing security and internal peace (in 1708—5,556; in 1755—15,730), and the local industries began to expand gradually. Accordingly, the city had now the time and a little means to deal with beggars in a practical way. In 1739 a Poor's Hospital was planned, and in 1741 a kind of poorhouse was instituted for the homeless poor in the former residence of the Earl of Aberdeen, behind the Townhouse. It was on 17th February, 1739, that the Town Council decided to build both an Infirmary and a Workhouse "to promote religion, suppress vice, propagate industry and virtue, and be a general benefit to society." There was no advertising for estimates. The Provost was told to buy the slates, a Councillor was sent to Fraserburgh to buy wood, and another went to Edinburgh and Glasgow to report upon the infirmaries and poorhouses there. And thus the Infirmary rose on Woolmanhill. The poorhouse was opened on 31st October, 1741. One section was set apart for idle strollers and vagabonds of the male sex, who were set to dress hemp and flax, pick oakum, or rasp wood. The female adults in their section were made to weave or knit. Then, in addition to about 40 adults, there were about 50 boys and 13 girls in the early years of this establishment. This poorhouse was financed by public subscriptions, bequests, donations, mortifications, church collections, etc., and the managers were chosen from among the principal citizens. For several years the town was freed from what Kennedy calls "an intolerable

grievance of multitudes of sorners and vagabonds." The minutes of managers' meetings about the time of the '45 are very incomplete, and many of the managers, and for a time the Master of Hospital, were in hiding. Two outstanding difficulties worried the managers at this time—the new Infirmary brought many stranger begging poor to Aberdeen who, whether cured or incurable, were urged to return to their native parishes at the expense of their native Kirk Session; and again, merchants in the city persisted in enticing boys to run away from the poorhouse without permission of parents and managers, to go out to the Colonies in America.

In 1768, as already stated, the United Fund was established, a union of all the city efforts for the poor, "to be distributed among the poor, and applied to all the charitable purposes at present provided, either by the Session, or by the Directors of the Poor's Hospital." The joint managers now controlled all outdoor as well as indoor poor. In 1774 there were 431 on the outdoor poor roll, 60 badged beggars who were permitted to beg, 247 adults and 36 boys in the poorhouse. In 1750 Robert Gordon's Hospital, on being relinquished as a barracks for the Duke of Cumberland's soldiers, opened its doors and admitted 26 boys. In 1809 the managers of the United Fund were dividing their income monthly to the outdoor poor, casual poor, orphans, deserted children, on clothing, coffins, the soup kitchen, the poorhouse, pauper lunatics, and the Sick Man's Friend Fund. In 1818 the sum of £1,000 was raised by voluntary assessment for the United Fund. More outdoor relief was granted, and the poorhouse was not full. Besides, the Court House Commissioners were anxious to enlarge the Court House, and so the poorhouse was sold to them for £2,100. The boys were transferred to another and

smaller house in the Gallowgate, the Boys' Hospital, and a staff was appointed of one master, one matron, and three servants. The boys, orphans or sons of poor parents, were admitted about the age of eight, boarded, clothed in uniform, and taught reading, writing and religion, until they were old enough to be apprenticed. In 1829 the indefatigable managers of the United Fund raised by an appeal to the public the sum of £1,563 to found a Girls' Hospital, exactly like the Boys' Hospital, for twenty female children or orphans of the city's poor. From this time forth the funds of the general poor, of the Boys' Hospital and of the Girls' Hospital, were all kept separate. The girls were housed in the Boys' Hospital, which was rented by them, and the boys moved to the Upperkirkgate. At this time there became available for the Boys' Hospital the handsome legacy of Mr. Simpson of Colliehill, the same who added to the funds of Robert Gordon's Hospital, and the managers of the Boys' Hospital were instantly relieved of further financial worries. Before leaving the United Fund, it is right to acknowledge with gratitude the heroic efforts of its managers, who, as the city grew with its new industries, struggled to make voluntary provision for the ever-growing number of poor. There was Provost Gavin Hadden, Mr. Menzies of Pitfodels (whose ancestors figure prominently in the City Records from before the Reformation), Dr. Glennie, Priest Gordon, Dr. Dingwall Fordyce, Mr. Alexander Webster, Dr. Ross, Professor Hamilton, etc. Now-a-days the work of the Parish Council, whose actions are largely controlled by the bureaucracy of the Scottish Board of Health in Edinburgh, offers no attraction to the administrative abilities of the best citizens. Hence one class of citizen is totally ignorant of the conditions in which another lives.

The poor have lost the sympathy and contact of the well-to-do, and the well-to-do have not the same opportunity of exercising charity.

From 1838 a legal assessment for the poor was an absolute necessity. The *Bon-Accord Repository* in 1842 sums up the situation thus:

> An opinion seems to be gaining ground that it would be well to have a workhouse which would include all indigent poor, as well as provide maintenance and education for pauper children. A poorhouse on a small scale has lately been instituted by the Managers of the United Fund, and appears to answer well, but the expense of maintaining it is rather heavy. Whatever may be the result of the present movement in the city in regard to the general poor, there is much need of a change that will have the effect of rendering them more comfortable than they are under the present system. In the parish of Oldmachar, embracing about one-third of the city population, there is a workhouse on a small scale, established in 1840, and apparently answering well, and also a Medical Dispensary, supported by voluntary contributions and donations.

The list of institutions founded for the poor in Aberdeen during the fifty years preceding the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1845, is not yet complete. Collective voluntary efforts, and private bequests and benefactions continued to be made for the poor, so long as there was no legal assessment. The great weakness of the system, however, was lack of co-ordination of effort, with the possibility of much overlapping.

1792. *Sick Man's Friend Society*, supported by voluntary contributions and church collections. The city was divided into 32 areas, with visitors for each. The sum expended annually was about £250 to about the same number of sick beneficiaries.

1801. *Mitchell's Hospital, Old Aberdeen.* This institution, a range of buildings of one storey, is situated near the north end of the Chanonry, opposite the

Cathedral. It was gifted by David Mitchell, Essex, to provide lodging, clothing, and maintenance for five widows and five maiden daughters of decayed merchants or burgesses of Old Aberdeen. The funds are vested in the Principal, the Professor of Divinity, and others. Although the class of beneficiaries was widened in 1901, only two remained in 1921. The Court of Session, in July, 1923, approved of a new scheme presented by the Governors, offering help to any ladies resident for seven years within the bounds of the old Burgh of Old Aberdeen, but with preference as stated in the original benefaction. After provision is made for the resident inmates, grants not exceeding £26 per annum may be made to ladies non-resident.

1801. *United Coal Fund.* Several coal funds were united under one body of trustees (mostly the same gentlemen who managed the United Fund) with a capital sum of about £3,000.

1803. *Soup Kitchen.* This was another of the institutions of the gentlemen of the United Fund. The casual poor were fed at this kitchen, which was supported by public subscription. The years around 1815 (Waterloo) seem to have been very trying. " Begging in the streets, and at the houses of the inhabitants, had become an intolerable nuisance " (Kennedy, II, page 159). The total sum expended on the soup kitchen, 1816-1817, was £1,420 18s. 9d., with a deficit of £257. The Managers of the United Fund gave £249. The average daily attendance of poor folks was 232 (St. Nicholas 186, and Oldmachar 46) adults, who with children and dependents, numbered about 500 in all (population in 1811, 35,370). In the winter 1922-23, 10,508 dinners at 2d. each, and 11,923 breakfasts at 1d. each, were supplied.

1807. *Shaw's Fund.* Alexander Shaw left property

in trust to found a hospital for five destitute boys and five girls. The fund was allowed to accumulate until 1839, when a house was bought in the Gallowgate, and a start made. This hospital was absorbed by the Educational Trust in 1889.

1805. *The Aberdeen Female Society* for the relief of aged and indigent females. The annual revenue was about £250, distributed by a committee of ladies.

1817. *Deaf and Dumb Institution.* The inmates were required to pay half the cost of their board, viz., £8 per annum. The balance was raised by voluntary contributions. A teacher was sent to Paris to be instructed by the famous Abbé Sicard.

1817. *Clothing Society.* Every two years a distribution of clothing, value £300, was made among about 1,000 individuals. Every article of clothing was stamped.

1818. *Asylum for the Blind.* The bequest of Miss Elizabeth Cruickshank was allowed to accumulate until 1841, when the building in Huntly Street was commenced, the foundation stone being laid on 6th October, 1841. In 1922 the workers in this institution were paid £5,533 16s. 10d., of which they really earned £2,562 12s. With interest from investments and with contributions and subscriptions, the managers are able to provide employment all the year round. Under the Blind Persons Act, 1920, it is proposed to amalgamate this institution with the Association for Teaching the Blind in Their Homes, whose subscription list in 1922 amounted to £867. While the work of the Blind Asylum is largely industrial, that of the Association is chiefly social. A scheme of amalgamation is now being drafted under Section 2 of the Act, to be submitted to the Scottish Board of Health, for the maintenance and training of blind persons by the

Local Authorities. Blind persons are eligible for the Old Age Pension at the age of 50.

1839. *Aberdeen Female Orphan Asylum.* This was founded by Mrs. Mary Elmslie, daughter of James Calder, wine merchant, Aberdeen, and widow of James Elmslie, merchant in Gibraltar. Her husband died in 1833, and left her childless and well provided for. She purchased two acres of ground in Albyn Place, and built her institution and endowed it with £40,000 in 3 per cent. Government annuities. During her lifetime she drew the dividends, paid all accounts, and made all regulations for the administration up to her death in 1868 in her 89th year. Her object was to maintain and train for domestic service fifty orphan girls of married parents who had resided in the parishes of St. Nicholas, Oldmachar, Nigg, or Banchory-Devenick. The age of admission was from four to eight, and the girls left at sixteen for domestic service provided with a suitable outfit.

This hospital was swallowed up in the Aberdeen Endowed Institutions Provisional Order, and was administered by the Aberdeen Educational Trust. In 1891 the trustees sold the building in Albyn Place to the Aberdeen School Board, who reconstructed it as the High School for Girls, and transferred their pupils from Little Belmont Street. It had cost Mrs. Elmslie about £15,000 to build, and the selling price was £4,500. The excellent work done by Mrs. Elmslie in her Female Orphan Asylum is still continued by the trustees of the Endowments Trust at the Girls' Home, Sunnybank. This Home is certified for thirty girls who, on completing a primary education, are trained in housecraft up to the age of sixteen at the School of Domestic Science. Then with a complete outfit, and seven shillings and sixpence of pocket money, they are placed in domestic service.

MRS. MARY ELMSLIE.

From Portrait by Sir David Wilkie, by permission of the Aberdeen Endowments Trust.

The House of Refuge and the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Connected Therewith.

In the early nineteenth century general complaint was made regarding the number of people found destitute and demoralised in the city, and the number of children infesting the streets begging and pilfering. In 1835, through the munificent gift of one thousand guineas from Dr. George Watt, the Provost, James Blaikie, called a general meeting of the citizens to consider the formation of a House of Refuge to afford temporary shelter, food, clothing, instruction, and work to the destitute, and in particular to the young and friendless. Cumberland House in the Guestrow was leased in 1836, in October, just when the foundation stone of the new Marischal College was laid. A committee of ladies and gentlemen, with a paid Superintendent, a Matron, and a Chaplain, supervised the institution. In 1839 Dr. Watt bequeathed the lands of Oldmill to extend the work of the House of Refuge, but the income from the estate was allowed to accumulate for some years. In 1840 there were still 280 young vagrants under the age of 14 in the city, and of these 77 had already been in prison that year. Only about one-half could read or write. It was then, in 1841, that Sheriff Watson established his School of Industry as a branch of the House of Refuge, supervised by the same staff, but with its own committee and its own funds. It was located at first in Chronicle Lane, in the old Greyfriars Parish School. The boy inmates of this school—the first Industrial School in the British Isles, marched to the House of Refuge for their meals. Those that were homeless slept in the House of Refuge, and those with any kind of a home returned there at night. There was no Government Grant in those days, and these institutions

were run entirely by subscriptions. In 1845 the School of Industry removed to Quaker's Court, 55 Guestrow, alongside the House of Refuge. On 13th May, 1845, Sheriff Watson and Mr. Thomson of Banchory, using a provision in an Act against vagrancy and begging, and with the co-operation of the police, captured 75 dirty, ragged children, and took them to a room adjoining the public soup kitchen in Loch Street; there the children were told that they would not be allowed to beg, but that they might come back there next day. Thus arose the Soup Kitchen School, with its own managers and funds. (It was in this year that the Poor Law (Amendment) Act was found necessary.) In 1846 this Soup Kitchen School was removed to Sugar House Lane to become the Juvenile Industrial School for boys and girls. In 1851 the Boys' School of Industry in the Guestrow and this Juvenile Industrial School were united under the Aberdeen Industrial Schools Association to provide secular and religious instruction and industrial training for destitute children of both sexes. In 1853 the rent of the Boys' School of Industry in Quaker's Court was to be increased, and it was removed to part of the House of Refuge next door, paying a rent of £10. With the establishment of the Parochial Board in 1845, the pressure upon the House of Refuge was decreasing slightly by 1853. Up to this time the managers had no powers to keep these children in school against their will. But in 1854 came the Dunlop Act, " to render Reformatory and Industrial Schools in Scotland more available for the benefit of vagrant children." The Industrial Schools in Aberdeen were certified under this Act, and all the children were lodged either in the House of Refuge or in approved homes near at hand. Grants were paid by Government. In 1862 this joint establishment of House of Refuge and Boys' School

THE HOUSE OF REFUGE IN 1857.

CUMBERLAND HOUSE, GUESTROW.

From photo. by Johnston Shearer, in the possession of Mr. J. Bentley Philip.

of Industry was removed to new and far more suitable premises in Skene Square. In 1866 the premises occupied by the Juvenile Industrial School in Sugar House Lane were condemned as insanitary. Accordingly the House of Refuge gave up its share of the new premises in Skene Square, and leased a property for itself in Ross's Court, Upperkirkgate, and separated itself entirely from the Industrial Schools. The children (boys and girls) moved up to the new premises in Skene Square, which were then divided in two—for boys and for girls. The boys left in 1879 for Oakbank, and the girls for Whitehall School in 1881, in accordance with an order of Her Majesty's Inspectors to effect a separation.

By 1874 the premises of the House of Refuge in the Upperkirkgate were in a ruinous condition, and there was too little room for industrial work. Accordingly the old Congregational Church in George Street was purchased for £1,600, and fitted up as a House of Refuge with work-rooms. In 1881 the stables adjoining were bought for £900 to be rag stores. It was in the severe winter of 1868, when many were unemployed, that the labour test of picking oakum or hair was enforced. Later, machinery was introduced with steam power for profit-earning in teasing hair, picking oakum, and flock-making. The House of Refuge thus provided shelter for homeless wanderers, and the necessitous who, being able-bodied, could not be relieved by the Parochial Board. In the year ending October, 1896, 6,344 casuals passed through the Night Shelter, an average of 17 per night. There were also 26 inmates of more permanent residence.

In 1885 the Aberdeen Reformatories and Industrial School Act was passed, whereby the two Industrial Schools, the Reformatory for boys at Oldmill, the Mount Street Reformatory for Girls, and the House of Refuge

were placed under one managing body, but the funds of the House of Refuge had to be kept quite separate. All these institutions were burdened with very considerable debts, and it was hoped to wipe these off by united and economical management. Of the 24 directors, 12 were elected by the Town Council and 12 by the Commissioners of Supply for the County, and one-third of the whole retired annually. By 1897 the debt upon the House of Refuge had increased considerably; and as the town had just erected a large Corporation Lodging House for casuals, it was resolved to sell the House of Refuge and liquidate the debt with the proceeds.

Oldmill Reformatory.

Dr. Watt bequeathed Oldmill Estate to extend the work of the House of Refuge and provide a new site. Nothing was done till 1855, when at a public meeting it was resolved that a Reformatory School be built at Oldmill as a department of the House of Refuge for the reformation of boys who had been convicted of crime, and therefore could not be received into an Industrial School. It did not supersede the Industrial School, but was auxiliary to it, and aimed at training youthful offenders to earn a livelihood by some honest calling. It was opened on 25th March, 1857, and certified for 150 boys. By 1897 it had accumulated considerable debts. There were only 67 boys in it; accordingly it, too, was sold, so that its debts might be paid, permission to sell having been granted by the Court of Session. The estate was purchased by the City Parish Council, who built on it Oldmill Poorhouse.

Oakbank Industrial School, certified for 250 boys, is still carried on, but with only about 110 boys. This is

the only school left under the charge of the Board of Directors created under the Act of 1885. But the Secretary for Scotland, under powers of the Children's Act (Section 132), altered the constitution of the Board. It was reduced by half to twelve members, four elected by the Town Council, four by the County Council, and four by the City Education Authority, one-third retiring annually.

Mount Street Reformatory for Girls.

In 1844 Mr. William Harvey of Beadlieston, Dyce, mortified a considerable sum for the reformation in a penitentiary of females of dissolute habits. The trustees at first supported the Spital Penitentiary, already established, but in June, 1859, they opened new buildings in Mount Street under new directors, as a reformatory for women of bad habits. In 1862 the trustees closed it, but rented the premises to a new board for the rescue of girls under 16. Previous to this, girls under 16 convicted in Aberdeen had to be sent to a reformatory in Edinburgh or Glasgow. The school, certified for 40, had only 12 inmates in 1901, and it was closed.

Whitehall Industrial School for Girls.

In 1902 this school was purchased by the directors of the "Female School of Industry"—a similar institution at North Lodge founded in 1843 by the ladies of the Established Church. The number of inmates in both had been falling considerably, and both are now housed in the one building at Whitehall, which, though certified for 40, has only about 15 girls to-day (September, 1923).

It would seem that this type of school is dying out all over the land. Instead of sending young offenders to

Industrial Schools, magistrates are putting them on probation. The result is that many young men and women are thus allowed to drift, and require a Borstal Institution later on.

1841. *School of Industry* opened by Sheriff Watson in Chronicle Lane (see Chapter IX).

1841. *The Female Penitentiary* was opened in the Spital, supported by public subscription. Work of this nature is still being carried on in Seabank Home.

In 1845, when the Parochial Board came into being, it took over the management of all the old endowments, pre-Reformation and post-Reformation, handed over to them by its legal predecessors, the Kirk Session and the Town Council. The Parochial Board, in order to relieve the assessment as much as possible, endeavoured to secure the funds and management of both the Boys' and the Girls' Hospitals.[1] In this it failed, for the two hospitals acquired a private Act of Incorporation. The managers were very anxious to remove both hospitals from their central positions in the Gallowgate and Upperkirkgate to the outskirts of the city. Eventually, in 1871, one

[1] On nine large boards in the hall of the offices of the Endowments Trust, King Street, are inscribed the names of all the benefactors of the boys' and girls' hospitals, and of the poor's hospital. These boards were gifted in 1877 by Dean of Guild Alexander Walker and his brother James Walker, both notable supporters of the boys' and girls' hospitals. The boards are inscribed "By the benevolent, whose names in gratitude are here exhibited, these sums of money were given at the various dates, to help to erect, endow, and maintain in all time coming these hospitals." From 1740 to 1843 the poor's hospital received in large benefactions £43,000. All benefactions ceased in 1843 with the new Poor Law. The largest benefaction was given by Alexander Simpson of Colliehill, viz., £22,400. The total sum gifted to the boys' and girls' hospitals was £8,256 up to 1876. The trustees of the Endowments Trust have much of their money now invested in estates in Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire.

THE FIRST SCHOOL OF INDUSTRY, CHRONICLE LANE, ABERDEEN, 1841.

By permission of the Aberdeen Public Library Committee.

mixed school was constructed for them in King Street (now the School of Domestic Science), and placed under the management of Mr. Barnett, who was, later on, headmaster of the Middle School.

BOYS' AND GIRLS' HOSPITAL, KING STREET, 1871.

The children continued to be fed, clad, and taught. By and by this hospital system came into disfavour, and in 1881, by the Aberdeen Endowed Institutions Provisional Order, a whole collection of endowed institutions was brought together to form the Aberdeen Educational Trust, which inaugurated a system of financial outdoor aid for education of the children of the poor at day and evening school.

The Aberdeen Educational Trust was the union of eleven old city charities effected in 1889 under the Educational Endowment (Scotland) Act. Fifteen Trustees or Governors were appointed thus: three by the Magistrates and Town Council; three by the School Board; two by the University Senatus; two by the

Presbytery of the Established Church; one minister of another church selected by the Town Council; one by the Incorporated Trades; one by the Society of Advocates; and two by the Parochial Board of St. Nicholas.

SEAL OF ABERDEEN ENDOWMENTS' TRUST, FORMERLY ABERDEEN EDUCATIONAL TRUST, 1889.

The eleven charities were:

1. The Boys' and Girls' Hospital School in King Street, which, dating from 1739, was the oldest. At the date of the union fifty boys and fifty girls were maintained and educated from the age of seven to the age of fourteen. The net stock in lands and feu duties amounted to £64,052, and the revenue £2,418.

2. The Female Orphan Asylum in Albyn Place, the gift of Mrs. Elmslie. Stock, £42,320. Revenue, £1,098.

3. Hospital for Orphan Female Children (by Act of Incorporation, 1849), in a building rented from the Blind Asylum. Forty girls were maintained and educated. Stock, £24,050. Revenue, £916.

4. Shaw's Hospital. Ten girls were maintained and educated in Rosebank House, Skene Square. Stock, £9,024. Revenue, £355. The buildings were sold in 1890 to the Aberdeen School Board for £450. See page 162.

5. Chalmers's Girls' School, built in 1836 by the Misses Chalmers of Westfield for the educating of girls. It was sold, along with Ross's School (No. 6) to the Aberdeen School Board for £4,445 and £60 for furnishings. Stock, £6,998.

6. Ross's School, Holburn Street, founded in 1860 by James Ross, Cuparstone Cottage. Stock, £7,583. Revenue, £154.

7. Brown's School, Skene Square, founded by Dr. John Brown, M.D., in 1858. Stock, £3,203. Revenue, £120 (which was expended in paying fees and books for children attending this school).

8. Thain's Charity, founded by James Thain in 1788. Stock, £3,050. Revenue, £106 (which was expended in payment of fees and books to children attending schools in Aberdeen).

9. Davidson's Endowment, founded by John Davidson, goldsmith in Aberdeen, in 1803. Stock, £1,700. Revenue, £59 (disbursed by the Town Clerk in paying fees and books to children in Footdee, called Davidson's Free Scholars).

10. Alexander McRa's Trust (1763). Stock, £1,666 (whose yearly revenue was expended in bursaries according to the will of Alexander McRa, sometime ironmonger in Bristol).

11. Man's Mortifications. Stock, £585 (included in No. 1, as the income was applied to assisting apprentices who had been foundationers within the Boys' and Girls' Hospitals). In 1761 Colonel James Man, M.A., mortified £1,000 Scots for fees of apprentices.

The total stock at the date of the union amounted to £163,640, and the gross revenue £5,440. The bulk of the money was invested in lands and

feu duties. The trustees carried on the work of the Boys' and Girls' Hospital for twenty years till 1910, not as a boarding school, but by supplying three free meals for five school days each school week to an average of over 400 children of parents requiring assistance in educating and maintaining their children. The children attended the various schools in town, and returned to their parents at night. Since 1910 the trustees have paid annually the sum of £1,400 to the Aberdeen educational authority, which undertakes the feeding of necessitous children. In September, 1923, 452 children were attending the various feeding centres of the Authority. The work of Mrs. Elmslie's Home is continued in the Girls' Home, Sunnybank, as previously mentioned. Then a large number of bursars in the various city schools has been subsidised by the trustees annually since 1889. When Mrs. Elmslie's Orphan Girls' Asylum was sold in 1891 to the School Board, the offices of the Trust were transferred to the Boys' and Girls' Hospital in King Street, now called the School of Domestic Science. When in 1909 an attempt was made to merge all these charitable funds with the funds of Gordon's College, under one set of Governors, and along with the new Technical College, it was a good thing that the funds of the old city charities left by pious individuals for the benefit of the necessitous poor of the City of Aberdeen were not merged with the funds of the Technical College, which, since the war, has had its own financial difficulties.

The Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, making education free and compulsory, deprived many of these scholastic endowed institutions of the *raison d'être;* for, *autres temps, autres mœurs.* In 1909 an Act was passed confirming a further Provisional Order, whereby the

lands of the old Robert Gordon's Hospital were entrusted to the new-named Aberdeen Endowments Trust for administration on behalf of the new Robert Gordon's Technical College. Owing to the present financial difficulties of the latter, and the obligation upon the City Education Authority to give financial aid, the Authority is claiming a larger share in the administration of the College's funds through a new Provisional Order. This new Robert Gordon's Colleges and Aberdeen Endowments Trust Order Confirmation Act will come into force on 1st January, 1924. The debt upon the Technical College will be liquidated from capital funds, and the constitution of the governing bodies will be slightly altered.

The very number of these institutions privately and voluntarily equipped prior to 1845 for the indoor relief of the poor, proved that there was needed in Scotland's system of relief some form of permanent indoor accommodation. Accordingly the Act of 1845 gave power to the Parochial Boards to borrow money for the purpose of erecting poorhouses. The Parochial Boards of both parishes in Aberdeen had a poorhouse erected, the East Poorhouse for St. Nicholas in Nelson Street, and the West Poorhouse for Oldmachar in Fonthill. When these two parishes were united in 1894 to form the city parish of Aberdeen, these two poorhouses were becoming antiquated, and one large poorhouse was built in 1907 outside the city at Oldmill, on the estate and site of Oldmill Reformatory, in the parish of Newhills. In recent years the Scottish Board of Health has discouraged the keeping of children permanently in a poorhouse. Some children were marked for life, and later on were unashamed to claim poorhouse relief. Nowadays there is no teacher required at Oldmill,

and the orphan children are boarded out in good families away from the city. Many children, mostly illegitimate, are still born in the poorhouse, and as the children of paupers tend themselves to become paupers later on in life, with no residential settlement, then these children may in future years become a serious burden to the parish of Newhills when they are returned to their parish of birth. Of course, Newhills profits from the heavy rates assessed upon the large rental of Oldmill Estate and Poorhouse. The use of the name "Poorhouse" is being discouraged by the Scottish Board of Health, and births and deaths are now registered as occurring in "Oldmill Hospital," or simply at "Oldmill, Newhills," an interesting reversion to the original name of such an institution. The word "illegitimate" is no longer written upon the birth certificate of a natural child.

With the gradual extension of outdoor relief, and also with the Old Age Pension and National Health Insurance Acts, there are fewer respectable poor folks in these institutions. The inmates generally can be put into two classes (*a*) the aged and infirm, whose relatives have really no means of providing that nursing and close attention which their condition demands: many such, in fact, are practically taken off to the poorhouse to die; (*b*) the very lowest classes of human beings—the mentally weak and the diseased, who have proved unable to provide for themselves. Many of these migrate frequently to and from their old haunts. Oldmill Hospital has therefore changed its name significantly, for there are no respectable poor in it who could be readily boarded out, and practically all the inmates are there for medical reasons. Many argue from this that the administration of all the poor should be transferred to the Public Health Authority.

The Royal Infirmary.

Founded in 1739 by public charity, and extended and maintained ever since by voluntary contributions, the Royal Infirmary is the outstanding example in our midst of this type of charitable institution. In the eighteenth century the scientific spirit began to enter all branches of study, and to inspire men in all the countries of Europe to become searchers after the truth. The study of medicine, with such enthusiasts as Lavoisier, the father of physiologists, made rapid progress. It was soon apparent that a very great deal of poverty was due directly to sickness and disease, while at the same time the poor were quite unable to pay for the new-found and ever-growing help of medicine. Accordingly the Infirmary was the direct result of the efforts of the citizens of Aberdeen and of the county gentry to provide the best possible medical and surgical skill for the sick poor of the North-East. At first there was accommodation for only about forty in-patients. In 1750 the first enlargement of the buildings was found necessary, and made possible by the warm commendation of the scheme by the parish ministers from their pulpits. Annual parish collections have been made in many parishes ever since. The city churches, too, make a special collection annually, and thus maintain the old-fashioned method of supporting the poor. In 1773 a Royal Charter was obtained, erecting a definite corporate body of managers, the Provost, the ex-Provost, the Dean of Guild, four Baillies, the Convener of the Incorporated Trades, the Professor of Medicine, the Moderator of the Synod, contributors of £50, subscribers of £5, or their representatives. It was in 1833 that the present façade was built to the plans of Archibald Simpson, and the other wings

were added to meet the increasing demands made upon the institution. During these 180 years the Infirmary has been maintained by voluntary charity. It has had various crises in its history, and frequently showed annual deficits, notably in the fever epidemics of 1838-1840.. But it still carries on its beneficent work. At present it is admittedly inadequate to meet the demands for its aid. (Monthly report, 9th May, 1923: Patients, 282; waiting admission, 308.) Further extension on the present site is impossible, and the managers are considering the question of an entirely new building to include the Sick Children's Hospital and in closer contact with the School of Medicine. A scheme emanated from the Aberdeen Medico-Chirurgical Society in the spring of 1920, and a Joint Hospital Accommodation Committee took up the matter. This Committee suggested a large joint hospital at Burnside and Forresterhill, upon a site of 111 acres which belongs to the Town Council, and the advantages would be (*a*) removal of hospitals to an open space, (*b*) economy in administration, (*c*) greater teaching facilities. The Town Council agreed on 7th July, 1923, to sell the site for £35,000, this being a reduction of £11,776 upon the book value of the site. The University has agreed to pay its share of the site, £5,000. A private individual has offered £5,555 for the part required for the Sick Children's Hospital. The Infirmary's share costs £11,110, and already the sum of £8,000 is offered anonymously. It remains for the Town Council to agree to buy the part required for the Public Health Department buildings, mostly for tuberculosis patients. A further large capital sum would be required, but the North-East could tackle the problem, and solve it, too. In the present period of financial stress the deficits on the annual accounts are small compared with those of

hospitals in the south. Certain hospitals have been in such serious difficulties that the Government in 1922 appointed a Voluntary Hospitals Commission to report upon the whole question of voluntary hospitals. This Commission presented an interim report in February, 1923. On the basis of the ratio of aggregate deficits the Commission allocated out of the Government Grant-in-Aid of £500,000, the sum of £225,000 to the Metropolitan hospitals, which seem to be suffering most, and £275,000 to the hospitals of the rest of England, Scotland, and Wales. At 31st December, 1922, the sum of £373,013 had been distributed. Reviewing the position of the voluntary hospitals generally, the Commission reported:

> The results of our investigations and experience during the period under review show conclusively that the voluntary system possesses strong vitality, and that its chances of permanent survival are increasingly hopeful. It is striking proof of the vitality of the voluntary system that in a period of unprecedented unemployment and heavy taxation the total income of the hospitals has been so well maintained. There is every reason to hope that as soon as trade improves the great majority of the hospitals will be able to balance their budgets.

In November, 1921, Sir Napier Burnett prepared a report upon the Scottish Voluntary Hospitals' financial position for the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John. His report dealt with the finances for the year 1920. He expected that valuable work could be done by the Voluntary Hospitals Committees being established by the Commission, to formulate a definite scheme of financing the hospitals within a given area, to co-ordinate their work, and so relieve the pressure upon the large hospitals and fill the empty beds of the small hospitals. In the large hospitals 92 per cent. of the beds were constantly occupied, while only 77 per cent. were occupied in the smaller hospitals. In Scotland there was

in 1920 a total deficit of £78,158 over all the hospitals; of the income, 17.2 per cent. came from the interest of invested funds. Workmen contributed 19.1 per cent., patients gave 5.5 per cent., while the public services (Parish Councils, Friendly Societies, etc.) contributed 6.64 per cent. The hospitals ought to have a definite legal claim upon approved societies for panel patients treated. Fully one-half of the total income (52 per cent.) has to be found from the public at large. All experience goes to show that when a hospital cares to organise collections and explains its needs, it invariably reaps a rich reward.

It would be distinctly unfortunate if our hospitals came to be rate-aided institutions. The Poor Law Amendment Act (1845) took from Christian charity the care of the poor in general. Except through a small number of Parish Councillors, the average citizen knows nothing now of the needs of the poor, who from 1560 to 1845 were in the care of the Kirk Sessions. The poor have now lost the personal sympathy and interest of the well-to-do, who in turn have fewer chances of learning that "it is better to give than to receive." Enough, then, of this legislation that kills man's humanity to man. The hospitals may safely be left to the people to be financed on the old lines of voluntary contribution. There is but one thing necessary, namely, that these new Hospital Committees educate the people, and set up small collecting organisations within factories, parishes, etc. In 1921, in response to the urgent appeal of Lord Provost Meff for the Infirmary, the working class district of Stoneywood sent in the handsome sum of £120—the proceeds of a small sale and whist drive organised by a few men of good will. In 1922, within a fortnight the students collected £4,000.

At Easter, 1923, the students collected the magnificent sum of £4,753 5s. 2d., which they allocated as follows:

Royal Infirmary	£3,000	0	0
Sick Children's Hospital	1,000	0	0
Maternity Hospital	500	0	0
Morningfield Hospital for Incurables	100	0	0
Eye Institution	100	0	0
Aberdeen District Nursing Assoc.	53	5	2
	£4,753	5	2

Sir James Taggart, by persistent educating of the people, has just raised £10,000 for the Sick Children's Hospital.

What would be the immediate result of a rate? Just as all legacies, donations, and contributions for the poor completely ceased in 1845, when the poor were rated for, so would they disappear for the hospitals.

The report upon the voluntary hospitals of Great Britain by Sir Napier Burnett for 1922 is most encouraging. The deficit in 1921 was £419,138, whereas in 1922 it was only £74,978, thanks to a deepening interest in the hospitals and increased subscriptions. Patients, too, are subscribing well. The average yearly bequests to hospitals amount to £750,000 and a suggestion has been made to abolish the legacy duty of ten per cent. thereupon. This would wipe out the deficit altogether.

Public Dispensaries.

In 1781 the Infirmary opened a Dispensary for outdoor patients, which in 1786 passed to the management of its own subscribers. About 1800 two more were started with the support of voluntary contributions, payments by patients, and above all by the collective help

of friendly societies. Then in 1803 a Vaccination Institution was started by the Town Council—the origin of the present public vaccinators, now provided by the Poor Rate. Little by little the number of doctors increased, and it is right to acknowledge that the medical profession in Scotland has ever done, and is still doing, right noble service among the poor for little or no reward. The National Health Insurance Act of 1911 compelled every worker to contribute for his own medical attendance, drugs, and sick benefit in time of illness. A heavy burden of casual relief for the sick was in this way lifted from off the Poor Rate. Before this Health Insurance was made compulsory, very many workers in Scotland had through the various Friendly Societies made voluntary provision for times of illness.

In Barnett's Close the Aberdeen Dispensary and Vaccine Institution is still carried on supported by voluntary contributions. It supplies advice and medicine to the sick poor and to such as are unsuitable patients for the Infirmary.

Lunatic Asylum.

The study of lunacy as a disease and of its treatment is of comparatively recent date. Up to 1799 a few lunatics were kept in the cells of the Infirmary and on the ground floor of the Poor's Hospital. It is said that a common treatment for them was to put their heads under the spill-water of the wheel of Gilcomston Mill. However, by legacy and subscription in 1799 a start was made with the present Royal Asylum, and in 1836 extra land was purchased to provide employment outside for the patients. Private patients, who were well-to-do, paid for their own maintenance. Then the number of

pauper patients was limited by the amount of voluntary contributions and legacies (eleven in 1817).

The managers of the Infirmary continue to administer the funds of the Asylum, but pauper lunatics are paid for by their parish of settlement. Twenty years ago the city of Aberdeen built at Kingseat, Newmachar, a new asylum for its own lunatics, in beautiful detached villas. There is a large farm on which the patients are employed. The Royal Asylum has now a farm and institution at Daviot near Inverurie.

Lunatics and all grades of mental defectives are now under the supervision of the District Boards of Control established under the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913, and are treated separately from the ordinary poor. The District Board of Control assesses each parish annually for its lunatic account.

Royal Aberdeen Hospital for Sick Children.

This hospital was founded in 1877 " to provide for the reception, maintenance, and medical treatment of children during sickness, within a building having such advantages as are peculiarly necessary for their care while ill, and for promoting their recovery; and also to furnish with advice and medicine, as out-patients, others whom it may be unnecessary or impracticable to receive into the hospital."

The management is in the hands of the subscribers of £1 1s. or more, who elect a Board of Directors, who in turn elect five trustees in whom the property is vested. At first only fourteen patients could be received, but now the daily average of in-patients (1922) is 69.4. The Eidda Home, Culter, serves as a Convalescent Home. 2,612 out-patients were treated in 1922. There was a deficit of £51 13s. 3d. on the year's working. Legacies

for the year amounted to £10,248 9s. 1d. The fund for new buildings amounts to £44,980, of which Sir James Taggart raised £10,000 by his special efforts. The directors are doing all in their power to assist in the accomplishment of the Joint Hospital Scheme for the City and North-East.

Despite the continued unemployment and trade depression, the town collections showed an increase of £6 9s. 8d. in 1922. The directors regret that no lady has been found to organise the county collections. They feel that if these county collections were more completely organised there would be a substantial addition to the funds of the hospital annually.

Morningfield Hospital.

This is the Aberdeen hospital for relief of persons labouring under incurable disease, and was founded in 1857. Each case admitted is deemed incurable. For those inmates who are able to contribute to their own support a rate is fixed by the managers. A donor of £500 can nominate a patient. The managers are the Lord Provost and Magistrates, the trustees of John Gordon's Fund, donors of £10 10s., and annual subscribers of £1 1s. The average number of inmates is about 70. In recent years there has been an annual deficit in the accounts made up from the General Reserve. There is a Needlework Guild attached to the institution.

Nazareth House.

This is a branch of the Mother House and Novitiate of the Congregation of the Poor Sisters of Nazareth, Nazareth House, Hammersmith, London, and was started in Aberdeen in 1862, first in Chapel Court. The sisters devote themselves to the care of the aged and

infirm poor of both sexes—irrespective of creed—and of orphan and incurable children. The aged and infirm, once admitted, are kept throughout life, and the orphan children are educated and fitted for life, and supervised by the sisters when they go out into the world about the age of 16. In ill-health, they may return to the convent. The Home depends for support upon legacies, contributions from inmates, and chiefly upon the alms of the charitable. In 1877, through the efforts of the late Rt. Rev. Mgr. Stopani,[1] the present buildings were erected to the plans of ex-Baillie R. G. Wilson, and an Industrial School for Girls, certified for 150, was added. The inmates number at present about 250 all told, including about 50 girls in the Industrial School, mostly from Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, 150 orphan boys and girls, and about 50 old men and women.

The House of Bethany.

This institution was founded in 1870 by the widow of the Rev. James Alexander Whyte, minister of St. James's Episcopal Church, Leith, and its object is to provide a home for orphan girls. Since 1875 it has carried on its good work in the Hardgate in a plain old house, where a Dr. Tulloch had kept a school. This Orphanage began with five little girls, all resident, and the number rose steadily to 32 in 1918, while at present 18 girls form the family of the Mother Superior and her Sisters. How is this happy family kept alive? A few patrons contribute £10 per annum, but for the rest, this

[1] The tablet in the Hall of Nazareth House to his memory reads as follows: "William Provost Stopani. He was one of the founders of this House, and the father of the poor and of the orphan. In him the sisters lost a faithful friend and a generous benefactor."

family is dependent upon the voluntary offerings of friends.

During these fifty-three years of its existence, hundreds of girls have passed through this Orphanage into the world. All have received a good training in housecraft, and the Mother Superior endeavours to keep in touch with them by correspondence when they leave for situations. A good friend of this Orphanage was the late Mr. J. P. Cumine, the same who gave such excellent service to the Industrial Schools and Reformatories in Aberdeen.

GRANTS FROM THE COMMON GOOD, 1922.

Aberdeen Dispensary and Vaccine Institution	£10	10	0
Aberdeen District Nursing Association	20	0	0
Aberdeen Eye Institution	20	0	0
Aberdeen Royal Infirmary	50	0	0
Children's Fresh Air Fortnight	10	10	0
Homes for Widowers' Children	5	5	0
Nazareth House	5	5	0
Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children	10	10	0
Scotston Moor Children's Camp	5	5	0

Other charitable institutions are the Aberdeen Maternity Hospital (1893), the Aberdeen Eye Institution, the Aberdeen District Nursing Association, Seabank Rescue Home, Aberdeen Home for Working Lads, Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, Home for Widowers' Children, etc.

CHAPTER XVII

Prospect.

THE most recent Government inquiry into the Poor Laws was held in 1908-1909 by the "Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and Relief of Distress." A special report was made upon Scotland. Such Commissions are appointed as a result of the pressure of public opinion, demanding legal redress for new difficulties which arise with the changes in civilisation. In this case there is a Majority and a Minority Report. The Majority Report is the more conservative, and recommends simply that certain small alterations be made in the law to meet the difficulties of the Inspectors of Poor in their administration. For example:

1. That the Scottish Board of Health should have powers to unite small parishes for local administration. In Aberdeenshire there are no less than 83 Parish Councils with 83 Inspectors of Poor, most of whom have only part-time employment as such. Economy with greater expert efficiency could be effected by uniting several parishes under an expert full-time official. Again, the Parish Councils are so effectively controlled from Edinburgh that men of ability are not attracted by parochial work into the Councils. In many parishes there is now quite an inferior type of councillor, and the able and well-to-do are sundered from the poor. It is becoming increasingly difficult to persuade the autocrat and the democrat to harness together; the former will

not now come forward for election, and the latter has full swing.

2. That the parish area (or united parishes) be kept for the administration of outdoor relief, but that for institutional cases the county be the area and the County Council the controlling body.

3. That all poor-law officials be qualified by examination, employed full-time on a salary scale, with superannuation, and that certain posts be held by women.

4. That the sole qualification for relief be necessity, with no denial of aid to the needy able-bodied.

5. That it be possible to detain in institutions the "ins-and-outs," and to make them work.

6. That institutions for indoor relief should specialise in one kind of patient.

7. That no outdoor relief be given to the mother of an illegitimate child. Such mothers of weak intellect should be detained.

8. That Inspectors have powers to remove neglected, helpless people to an institution.

9. That parish "homes" be encouraged for elderly half-fits, who, being respectable, would be near their friends.

10. That after-care be arranged for by local ladies and gentlemen for boarded-out orphans from the age of 14 to 21 (as in France).

11. That vigorous legal proceedings be taken against relatives for the maintenance of cases.

12. That there be a flat county rate for the poor, as for the schools.

The Minority Report recommended (1) that the whole system be abolished to get rid of the name and the thing itself; any mere tinkering with the old system would but continue to make "unemployables" who simply wait

for assistance; (2) that a start should be made in *preventing* destitution by attacking the causes of destitution thus:

Disease, through the local Health Authority.
Lunacy, through the local Lunacy Authority.
Old Age, through the local Pensions Authority.
Neglected Infancy and Childhood, through the Education Authority.
Unemployment, through the Labour Exchanges, etc.;

(3) that the children must be rescued from demoralising surroundings, the sick from chronic disease, and the unemployed from betting and gambling, which so demoralise the character.

But for the outbreak of war in 1914 some change would certainly have been made in the Poor Laws. Public opinion, ever becoming more enlightened, seems to be veering towards the recommendations of the Minority Report. Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Minister of Health, admitted in the House of Commons on 30th April, 1923, that sooner or later the very large question of the reform of the Poor Law would have to be considered, but whether it would be desirable to make any attempt to upset the present system when they were trying to cope with the extraordinary strain of the present volume of unemployment was a matter which would require very serious consideration. A report issued by the Consultative Council on Local Health Administration and General Health Questions (July, 1923) confirms the report of 1909, and urges reorganisation in larger areas under the Town and County Councils.

The Government is likewise pledged to reform the rating system.

By 1921 there were in Scotland so many unemployed

that Poor Law provision had to be made for them, as had always been done in England. Accordingly the Poor Law Emergency Provisions (Scotland) Act, 1921, was passed, which allowed the Parish Councils to provide relief to able-bodied unemployed, and for such cases the stipulation of a three years' residential settlement was suspended. The Parish Councils, too, were allowed to borrow money for this new purpose, subject to the approval of the Scottish Board of Health. Naturally this threw a tremendous new burden upon the poor rates in towns, where more unemployment prevails than in rural districts. The provisions of the above Act were further extended by the Local Authorities (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1923. This Act introduces an important provision, empowering Parish Councils to make arrangements with any Local Authority whereby any destitute able-bodied person out of employment and applying for relief may be employed by the Local Authority on any work of public utility instituted for the relief of distress due to unemployment, and the Parish Councils are authorised to pay to the said Local Authority such sum as the Councils may determine, not exceeding the sum which, but for this employment, would have been paid to the persons so employed by way of relief. In other words, it is a statutory recognition of a " work " test, the want of which has been much felt. In many parts of Scotland it is believed that with the imposition of a " labour " test, a large proportion of those unemployed who claim parochial aid, would disappear at once.

The Act of 1921 was intended as a temporary measure and to have effect for one year only, or to such later date being not more than one year thereafter, as might be fixed by the Scottish Board of Health. The Board extended the Act to 15th May, 1923, and the Local

Authorities (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1923, continues the former Act to 15th May, 1924. In 1920-1921 the Aberdeen City Parish Council spent £17,150 upon unemployment relief, and in 1921-1922 £37,065. For the financial year 1921-1922 the poor rate account was overpaid to the amount of £26,785 in respect of relief to unemployed.

The North-Eastern Association of Parish Council Officials at their meeting (27th January, 1923) strongly urged that these measures be continued "until such time as Parliament enacts legislation dealing with the whole question of public assistance, which should be brought under the administration of one relieving body."

Parish Councils have now powers to spread their emergency unemployment loans over a period of from ten to fifteen years, subject to the approval of the Scottish Board of Health. The greatest objection to this is that in industrial parishes the poor rate will be much increased, whereas in rural parishes there will be no additional burden. As this unemployment is a national problem, it is held that its relief should come out of the national purse and not out of the parish rates.

The scale of relief for the able-bodied unemployed was prepared and approved by the Scottish Board of Health, which fixed the sum of £2 as the maximum weekly allowance to be paid, save in very exceptional circumstances, to any family. Certain Parish Councils in which Communist or Labour members have a majority have made allowances in excess of this amount, and in consequence trouble has arisen with the Central Authority. In one instance the Scottish Board of Health declined to recommend any further loan till the Council agreed to comply with the conditions laid down by the Board. The power to veto borrowing is the most effective weapon

with which the Board is equipped. The Board has the power of surcharge in respect of any unnecessary expenditure, but the members of the Councils responsible, having little to lose, are openly defiant.[1]

As a measure to relieve the present excess of population in Britain, an Act was passed in 1922 providing for the expenditure of £3,000,000 annually on schemes of Empire emigration. At the Imperial Conference of Premiers (October, 1923) this was one of the most important items on the card of business. If Britain fails to maintain her lead in skilled industry and trade, then a fall in the standard of living is inevitable. The birth-rate is falling, and is likely to fall with the changing status of women.

	1921.	1922.	Decrease.
Births in Scotland .	123,201	115,085	8,116
Marriages . .	39,243	34,394	4,849

With the exception of the war years, 1916-1919, the birth-rate is lower per 1,000 of population than for any year since 1855, when Government Registration was instituted.

Within the last twenty years there has been a considerable amount of social legislation, which has relieved the pressure upon poor rates. The National Health Insurance Act made provision for all workers in times of sickness. The Old Age Pension Act gives to the poor of 70 years of age an allowance of 10s. per week, and the same to the blind at the age of 50. The Children's Act

[1] It is worthy of note that in the autumn of 1921 an industrial area near Aberdeen, through the agency of its Literary Guild, raised the sum of £800 in one effort, and by means of a large committee acting privately, relieved the resident unemployed from distress, and prevented them from having to make application for relief to the Parish Council.

of 1908 provided supervision for all children boarded away from home outwith the knowledge of the poor law authorities. In November, 1920, the Unemployment Insurance Act made provision for twelve millions of workers in case of unemployment—a spectre that has long haunted the toilers in industry. The effects of these collateral social measures was to reduce the poor rates considerably from 1900 to 1913. For example, in the parish of Newhills the poor rate in 1901 was 16 pence, and in 1913, 7.8125 pence. The number of poor chargeable to the parish fell from 145 to 92. The decrease in both cases was most marked from 1906 onwards, after these Acts began to come into operation.

Granting that the years of peace and plenty up to 1914 were reducing the demands upon the poor rate, still there remains to be tackled by the State the central problem of poverty, namely: How is the State to reduce the number of its physical, mental, and moral weaklings, whose maintenance forms the heaviest item of poor-law expenditure? Of 2,425,000 men examined in Britain for war service in 1918, only 36 per cent. could be placed in Grade I. Ten per cent. were totally and permanently unfit for any form of military service (see Report of Medical Boards, 1920, page 4). The Army Report, 1922, is equally unsatisfactory. Not only are the men who offer themselves for enlistment physically weak, but their educational standard is very low. Out of 30,000 tested, every eighth recruit was found to be illiterate. The great majority of the remainder were unable to pass a mild Standard V test in reading, composition, and arithmetic. Doubtless this may be accounted for by the fact that many boys who left school since the war have found themselves on the street ever since. Should certain classes of diseased and feeble-minded persons be

sterilised by the State? The Royal Commission which sat in 1908 to consider the care and control of the feeble-minded, hesitated to make any such drastic recommendation. In 1912 a Bill to provide for extended control over lunatics and feeble-minded persons failed to pass into law, but in 1913 a modified Bill was passed, the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913, providing merely for the temporary detention of weak-minded persons who might be a danger to themselves or to others. One is tempted to ask if the Government treatment of lunacy is stereotyped, and whether any good would come from research of root causes in those districts where the incidence of lunacy is very marked. Public opinion seems to be as yet not sufficiently educated to accept the eugenic idea of preventing these mental weaklings from procreating children like themselves to be an added burden to others. In the same way, should persons with a syphilitic taint or any serious hereditary disease not be rendered permanently incapable of procreation?

Again, it is plain that the upper and middle classes, and also the more educated working classes, are limiting the number of the children in their families. It is thus the relatively inferior racial stocks that are procreating the most children. Among wild animals Nature eliminates the unfit, and the fittest only survive; domesticated animals are bred from the best parents possible; only in the case of human animals the poorest stock produces most young. All social workers are aware of the anxiety with which a poor mother contemplates the arrival of one child after another. Should the poor and the ignorant not then be taught the practice of birth control? A reduction of the supply of weaklings would diminish the overcrowding in hospitals and infirmaries.

The public money wasted upon the hopeless task of educating physical and mental weaklings could be spent instead upon more sound education of children capable of profiting by it. As the slums grew emptier, they could be swept away to make room for playgrounds and gardens.

War is a great destroyer of the best racial stock. In modern history the decline of Spain and France from world power can be traced to their long years of warfaring.

Since the War the difficulty of housing the poorer classes has become more accentuated. Building by private enterprise has completely ceased, but the Government up to 31st March, 1923, completed 15,935 permanent houses in Scotland and subsidised 2,241 private houses, while 4,956 houses were in course of construction by Local Authorities. In 1919 it was estimated that 4,000 houses were required in Aberdeen, but only 156 in Torry have been so far erected and occupied. The Government set aside £30,000 to clear away slum areas in Scotland, and Aberdeen's share would be very small. Dr. Kinloch, the deputy Medical Officer of Health for Aberdeen, recently quoted the following statistics in deaths; in one-roomed houses, 25 per 1,000; in three-roomed houses, 11 per 1,000 of population. The death rate among babies under one year was thrice as high in one-roomed houses as in houses of five or more rooms. The labourer has to suit his house to his wage, whereas, as a matter of national economy, the house should be suited to the requirements of human life, and the wages raised to fulfil these requirements. Despite the urgent recommendations of the Royal Commission on housing in 1917, and of the Departmental Committee in 1921, the building by Government has

slackened. It was declared that the huge increase of the cost of building was due in no small measure to the profiteering rampant in State-aided buildings schemes. The Scottish Board of Health recently refused to sanction a further instalment of building in Aberdeen owing to the high prices quoted. More houses and better houses would certainly make for sounder human physique. Since the passing of the Notification of Births (Extension) Act of 1915, Scottish Local Authorities have appointed a large number of health visitors to look after the health of expectant and nursing mothers, and young children. This is being done in collaboration with the old voluntary District Nursing Associations.[1]

Granted, then, that means were taken to improve the racial stock and to house human beings better, would that enable us to prevent poverty and to abolish the Poor Law? No, this new stock must be better educated. After poverty and the squalor of slumdom, there is ignorance to be combated. A community that is both healthy and enlightened cannot fail to make social

[1] One wonders how far this mass of social legislation is dulling the human instinct of independence, which, according to Kipling, means, "Let every herring hang by its own head," or, "the blessed state of hanging on to as few persons and things as possible," leading to the singular privilege of a man owning himself. The Poor Rate may decrease, but the burden of Old Age Pensions, Health Insurance, Unemployment Insurance, etc., grows apace. Without all these, would St. Paul be right in Romans v, 3 (Twentieth Century Version), "We know that trouble produces endurance, and endurance stability of character, from which springs hopefulness—a hopefulness which never disappoints." Might we not thus be producing goods at a more economic price at which all the world might purchase from us? All social legislation has to be paid for out of the profits of international trade, and we are apt to forget it.

progress. Mr. Fisher, Minister of Education, at the Northampton Education Week, Easter, 1921, said:

> As we go about the country, we often come across buildings which remind us of the melancholy wastage of modern life. There are the prisons, the workhouses, the lunatic asylums, and the hospitals. Are these necessary? Are these inevitable? Can we not reduce our expenditure upon these melancholy emblems of human waste? There is only one way of doing it, and that is by building up a healthy, moral, and intelligent population. The plea of a nation that spends £410 millions upon its annual drink bill and £181 millions on its tobacco bill, carries little conviction when it urges that it cannot afford a proper system of education at £56 millions per annum. The sum earmarked for war purposes was £234 millions.

On peut toujours trouver de l'argent pour faire la guerre. "So," said Thomas Carlyle, "will it ever be, till communities and individuals discover, not without surprise, that fashioning the souls of a generation by knowledge can rank on a level with blowing their bodies to pieces by gunpowder."

Education, and still more education, is needed to realise for the nation's profit the wealth of undeveloped genius amongst the children of the poor; to give knowledge essential for hygiene and correct living; to have an enlightened democracy and a sound political rule —for ignorance is dangerous and breeds demagogues and Bolsheviks; to fit all for a life of most usefulness; to demonstrate that intemperance in strong drink blights and destroys domestic happiness, and prevents all social and economic progress; and for our purpose directly, to reduce crime, and pauperism, and lunacy, and to make of society a spiritual federation. Cultural education (philosophy, literature, art, etc.) is the cement of society. Love of learning and a wide diffusion of knowledge among the people, most valuable for our national and social life, are likewise fraught with great blessings for the

individual. The aim should be an aristocracy of learning to replace an aristocracy founded on wealth, with equal educational opportunity for all children, who in the future will make a new and better environment.

> "Ah, when shall all man's good
> Be each man's rule, and universal peace
> Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
> And like a lane of beams across the sea
> Through all the circle of the golden year?"

INDEX

INDEX

Aberdeen bankrupt, 118.
——*Chronicle*, 117.
——Education Authority, 174, 175.
——first church, 4.
——*Herald*, 98, 117.
——increase of population, 1708-1841, 115.
——Industrial Schools Association, 166.
——population of, 1396-1921, 51.
——Relief of Poor, 1638-1844, 75.
——rise of industries in, 116.
——School Board, 164, 174.
Act, Aberdeen Reformatories and Industrial Schools, 1885, 167.
——Blind Persons, 163.
——Children's, 1908, 169, 192.
——Dunlop, 166.
——Education (Scotland), 1872, 151, 174.
——Educational Endowment (Scotland), 171.
——Empire Settlement, 1922, 192.
——English Poor Law, 1834, 114.
——Irish Poor Relief, 1838, 114.
——Local Authorities (Emergency Provisions), 1923, 190.
——Local Government (Scotland), 1894, 135 *et seq.*
——Mental Deficiency & Lunacy (Scotland), 1913, 183, 194.
——National Health Insurance, 176, 182, 192.
——Navigation, 52.
——Notification of Births (Extension), 1915, 196.
Act, Old Age Pension, 176, 192.
——Poor Law, 1574, 1579, 1617, 36 *et seq.*, 42.
——Poor Law Amendment (Scotland), 1845, 60, 69, 86, 106, 166, 175, 180.
——Poor Law Amendment (Scotland), 1845, summary of, 119 *et seq.*
——complaints about, 129 *et seq.*
——Poor Law (Scotland), 1856, 134.
——Poor Law (Scotland), No. 2, 1861, 112, 135.
——Poor Law (Scotland), 1898, 132, 138.
——Poor Law Emergency Provisions (Scotland), 1921, 190.
——Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 1904, 138.
——Public Health, 1867, 134.
——Scottish Board of Health, 1919, 136, 139 *et seq.*
——Unemployment Insurance, 192.
Alexander II, King, 6, 25.
——III, King, 25.
Alhambra (Aberdeen), 150.
Alison, Dr. William Pulteney, 96, 105.
Almoner, 5.
Apostolic Church and charity, 2.
Assessed Parishes, 1820, 90.
Assessment in Aberdeen, 108.
——in other Scottish towns (1841), 109.
——national suggested for poor, 131.
——report of committee (1841) in Aberdeen, 109.

Assessment in other Scottish Towns (1841), 109.
Association for improvement of condition of poor, 186.
——for teaching Blind in their homes, 163.
——(North-Eastern) of Parish Council Officials, 191.
——of Inspectors of Poor, 20.
Asylum for Blind, 163.
——Royal Lunatic, 182.

Bain on Trades Hospital, 149.
Bank of Scotland, 1695, 52.
Banks in Aberdeen, 117.
Banner Newspaper, 129.
Barnett, Mr., 171.
Barons of Mearns, 28.
"Barren Years," 52.
Beadhouse, 10, 143.
Beggars' Summonds, 29.
Begging within one's parish, 20.
Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, 24.
Bethany House, 185.
Beza, 9.
Birth Rate (1921-1922), 192.
——limitation of, 194.
Blaikie, Provost James, 165.
Board of Health, Scottish. See "Scottish" and "Act."
——of Health Fund, 70.
——of Supervision, 122, 132, 134, 135.
Boece, Hector, 24.
Bon-Accord Repository, 161.
Book of Discipline on Poor Relief, 29.
Brereton, 54.
Brown, Professor, 97, 98.
Brown's School, 173.
Buchan, Alexander, Earl of, 18.
Burnett, John, of Kinaldie, 82.
Burnett, Sir Napier, 179, 181.
Burnett's Close, 182.
Bursaries for sons of Tradesmen, 152.

Calder, James, 164.
Carlyle, Thomas, 197.
Castles built after reformation, 29.
Cathedral of St. Machar, 4.
Chalmers' Girls School, 173.
Chalmers, Dr. Thomas, 103, 105, 106.
Chamberlain, Neville, 189.
Chambers, Dr. William (on Sheriff Watson's Work), 102.
Chanonry, 17, 154.
Chapel Court, 184.
Chargeability by residence, 56.
Charles I, King, 49, 51, 145.
——II, King, 51, 54.
Cheyne, Bishop, 13.
Children's Sheriff. See William Watson, 95-102.
Chisholm, 7.
Church, Authority for charity, 1.
——Collections, 124.
——Congregational, George St., 167.
——of St. Nicholas, 28, 29.
——Pre-Reformation and poor, 1.
——Reformed as Poor Law Authority, 40.
——St. Mary Ad Nives, 13, 14.
Claim on furniture of deceased pauper, 67.
Clat, John, 10.
Clothing Society, 94, 163.
Coal Fund United, 162.
Collector of Rates, 124.
Commission on housing, 195.
——on Poor, 1843, 105, 119 *et seq.*
——on Poor, 1908-09; Majority Report, 187, 188; 194; Minority Report, 189.
Commissioners of Teinds, 59.
Committee, Departmental, on housing, 195.
——Departmental, on local taxation (1921), 113.
Common Good, Grants from, to charities (1922), 186.
Constables, 41.
Constantine, Emperor, 2.

Consultative Council on Local Health, etc., 189.
Convention of Royal Burghs, 112.
Corporation Lodging House, 168.
Correction House in Aberdeen, 56, 76-80, 116.
——Houses, 56.
Court House, 159.
Covenanters, 51, 75.
Crabestone, Battle of, 76.
Craig, Sir Thomas, 49.
Cruden (Parish), 130.
Cruickshank, Elizabeth, Miss, 163.
Culdees, 3, 5.
Culter Paper Mill, 116.
Cumberland, Duke of, 76.
——House, 165.
Cumine, J. P., 186.

Darien Scheme, 52.
David I, King, 3.
——II, King, 7.
Davidson, George, 59.
Davidson's Endowment, 173.
Daviot Asylum, 183.
Deacons, 2, 35.
Deaf and Dumb Institution, 163.
Death Rate (infants), 195.
Departmental Committee on Local Taxation, 113.
Diocese, pre-reformation, extent, hospitals, etc., 12.
Discipline, First Book of, 30.
Dispensary, 181, 182.
Disruption, 83, 99, 106.
——in Newhills, 71.
District, Board of Control, 183.
Dominican Friars, 6, 28, 156.
Drummond & Co., 150.
Dunbar, Bishop, 27.
Duncan, Rev. Henry, 106.

Economic and Industrial Conditions before 1845, 114 *et seq.*
——Conditions in Scotland (1638-1844), 51 *et seq.*
Education, 133, 196.
Educational Trust, Charities forming (1889), 172.
Educational Trust, total stock of (1889), 172
Eidda Home, 183.
Elders, 35.
Ellon, 130.
Elmslie, James, 32.
Elmslie, Mrs. Mary, 164, 174.
Endowed Institutions, Provisional Order, 1888, 164, 171.
Endowments Trust, 1909, 170, 175.
English System of Relief, 89, 90, 103.
Epidemic, Fever, 1843, 106.
Erskine, John, 32.
Eye Institution, 186.

Feeding of Children, 174.
Female Orphan Asylum, 164, 172, 174.
Female Penitentiary, 170.
Female School of Industry, 169. See "North Lodge School."
Female Society, 94, 163.
Fevers in 'forties, 105.
Fines, going to relief of poor, 46.
Fisher, Mr. (Minister of Education), 197.
Fletcher of Saltoun, 52, 57, 158.
Fordyce, Dr. Dingwall, 160.
France, 195.
Friars; Black or Dominican, 6, 28, 156; Grey or Franciscan, 7, 28; Red or Trinity, 6, 28; White or Carmelite, 7, 28.
Friendly Societies, 87, 182.

Galloway, Alexander, parson of Kinkell, 11.
Gilcomston, 154, 182.
Gipsies, 22, 37.
Glenny, Dr., 160.
Gordon, Bishop, 14, 24.
Gordon's Hospital or College, Robert, 7, 156, 159. See "Hospital."
——Fund, John, 184.
Gordon, Lord Louis, 76.

Gordon of Craig, 95.
——Parson, of Rothiemay, 142, 146, 153.
——describes St. Nicholas Church, 4.
——Priest, 160.
——Robert, 156. See "Hospital."
Grammar School, 6.
Green, The, 7.
Guild, Dr. William, 6, 145.
——Jean, 6.
Guilds and Poor, 148, 152.
Guthrie, Dr. Thomas, 102.

Hadden, Provost Gavin, 160.
Hamilton, Professor Robert, 87 *et seq.*, 103, 105, 160.
Harbour improvement, 118.
Hearse, Hiring of, 46.
Heriott, Adam, 31, 32.
Heritors on Parochial Board, 123, 127.
Home for Widowers' Children, 186.
——for Working Lads, 186.
House of Refuge, 96, 99, 165, 167.
Housing, 133, 195.
Hospitals for Poor in Aberdeen:
Hospital, Bishop Dunbar's organisation, 14, 154 *et seq.*
——Boys' 93, 160; do., benefactors, 170.
——Boys' and Girls' (1871), 171, 172, 174.
——City, 154.
——for Orphan Female Children, 172.
——Girls', 160; do., benefactors, 170.
——Guild Brethren's, 11, 144.
——Guild Brethren's, revenue of (1780-1922), 144.
——(New Joint Scheme), 178, 184.
——Knights Templars', 156.
——Leper, 11, 42, 142, 153.
——Litsters', 156.
——Mitchell's, 161.
Hospital, Morningfield, for Incurables, 184.
——Plague, 12, 153.
——Poor's, 81, 158 *et seq.*, 182.
——Robert Gordon's, 7, 156, 159.
——St. Peter's, 12, 14, 25.
——St. Thomas' 9, 42, 141; contributions to, 142; tradesmen excluded, 142; administration, 144.
——Sick Children's, 133, 178, 183 *et seq.*
——Trades, 145; do., administration, 147; do., chapel, 150; do., changed to school, 151.
Hospitals Commission, 1922, 179.
——how supported now, 180.
——of Pre-Reformation diocese, 12, 17.
——Students' support in Aberdeen, 181.
Huntly, George, Sixth Earl of, 8, 28, 75.
Hutchison, William, 129.

Illegitimates, registration of, 176.
Incorporated Trades, 6, 76; contributions for hospital, 145; and church, 148; assist poor journeymen, 152; revenues of, 152.
Industrial School, 97, 100, 165.
——School, first, 97.
——School, Nazareth House, 185.
——School, Whitehall, for Girls, 167, 169.
Industries, rise of, in Aberdeen, 116.
Infirmary, Royal, 11, 61, 81, 83, 133, 143, 158.
——history of, 177.
Inspectors of Poor, 124, 134.
Insurance Companies in Aberdeen, 117.

Jacobite Rebellion (1715), 53,

60, 76; (1745), 53, 60, 76, 156, 159.
James I, King of England, 27, 49.
——III, King, 8.
——VI, King, 8, 11, 14, 36, 41.
Jedburgh Abbey, 5.
Johnston, Robert, 79, 116.
Joint Hospital Accommodation Committee, 178.
Journal, Aberdeen, 117.
Justices of the Peace, 41, 50, 54.

Keith, Sir Henry, 112.
Kettins, 131.
King, Mr. George, 133.
King's College, 7, 155.
Kingseat Asylum, 183.
Kininmund, Bishop Matthew, 13.
Kinloch, Dr., 195.
Kirk Session, Aberdeen, and its administration of relief to poor, 45, 48.
——Aberdeen, fines imposed by, 46.
——first in Aberdeen, 32.
——Aberdeen, sources of income for poor (1560-1638), 45.
Knowles, Janet, 14.
Knox, John, 29, 31.
——in Aberdeen, 33.

Lauder, 7.
Lavoisier, 177.
Laws. See "Act."
——for poor, 1574 and 1579, 36 *et seq.*
——for poor, 1638-1844, 53 *et seq.*
——for poor after 1845, 134.
——Pre-Reformation anent food-hoarding, 21.
——Pre-Reformation anent poor, 18.
——Pre-Reformation anent vagrants, 19.
Lawson, James, 32.
Legal Assessment, 87 *et seq.*, 108, 109.
Leighton, Bishop Henry, 12, 14.
Leper Croft, 11. See "Hospital."
Leslie, David, of Balquhain, 28.
——General, 75.
——William, of Balquhain, 7, 28.
Litigation between parishes, 131; avoided by reference to Scottish Board of Health, 131.
Local Government Board (1894), 136 *et seq.*
Longmuir, Dr., 129.
Luther, Martin, 27.

Macdonald, Alexander, 116.
McEwan, Dr. Bruce, 155.
McNeill, Sir John, 111.
McRa's Trust, 173.
Man, Colonel James, 173.
Man's Mortification, 173.
Mar, Earl of, 29, 76.
Marr, David, 8.
Marischal College, 6, 7, 9, 156, 165.
——George, Fifth Earl, 6, 7, 10.
Marriage Rate, 1921-1922, 192.
Marshall, John, Master of Grammar School, 27.
Mary, Queen, 7, 51.
Maternity Hospital, 186.
Means and Substance Assessment, 111, 135. See "Assessment."
Medico-Chirurgical Society of Aberdeen, 178.
Meff, Lord Provost, 180.
Melville U.F. Church, 144.
Menzies of Pitfodels, 160.
Military unfits, 193.
Moir, James, of Stoneywood, 60.
Monasteries and Charity, 4.
——downfall of, 28, 29.
——in Aberdeen, 5.
——Blackfriars, 6, 24, 28.
——Carmelite, 7, 28.
——Greyfriars, 7, 8.
——Trinity, 6, 28.
Montrose, Marquis of, 75, 76, 78.

Moonzie, 131.
Mortcloth, hiring of, 46.
Mortifications, Aberdeen, value of, 1922, 141.
——for poor in Aberdeen, 140.
Mortlach, 12.
Morton, Regent, 36.
Mosaic Law of charity, 1.

Napoleon, 58, 82, 115.
National Covenant, 51.
——Health Insurance Act, 176, 182, 192. See "Act."
Navigation Act. See "Act."
Nazareth House, 184.
Newhills, 99, 115, 155, 176, 193.
——Kirk Session Balance Sheets, 1713, 63.
——Kirk Session Records described, 60.
——Kirk Session Records, extracts from, 61.
——parish, relief of poor, 59.
New Testament and charity, 2.
Night Shelter, 167.
Norman barons, 3, 25.
North Lodge School, 99, 169.
Nursing Association, 186, 196.

Oakbank, 100.
——Industrial School, 167, 168.
Ogilvie, Miss Elizabeth, 99.
Old Aberdeen, 12.
——Age Pension Act, 176, 192. See "Act."
Oldmachar, 85.
——Parochial Board, 128.
Oldmill, Estate of, 99.
——Poorhouse, 101, 132, 175, 176.
——Reformatory, 101, 168 *et seq.*, 175.
Order of St. John, 179.
Ordiquhill, Kirk Session, Records of, 71.
Orem, William, 17, 155.
Overseers of poor, 54.

Paisley, distress in, 1819-1842, 114.
Parish Council, duties of, 137.
Parish Council instituted, 137.
Parishes assessed and unassessed in 1820, 90.
——in Scotland at Reformation, 3.
——without Poor Rate to-day, 131.
Parochial Board, 122; do., and church collection, 124.
——constitution of, 127.
——of Newhills, 71, 127.
——of Oldmachar, 128, 175.
——of St. Nicholas, 128, 166, 170, 175.
Parochial Boards, attack upon, 130.
Patrick, Friar John, 8.
Plague in Aberdeen, 12, 153.
Pope Pius II, 7.
Population of Aberdeen, 51, 115.
Poorhouse, children in, 132, 175.
——classification of inmates, 176.
——East, 85.
——West, 85.
Poor Rate, Decrease in, 193.
——revenues for (in 1841), 110.
Poor's Hospital. See "Hospital."
Presbyterian Lunatic Fund, 69, 73.
Pretender 76.
Prevention of cruelty to children Act, 1904, 138.
Prince Charles, 76.
Privy Council, 50, 53.
Proclamation of William and Mary, 1693, 57, 80, 155.
Protestant Church Organisation, 45; do., Poor Relief, 40; do., Sources of Income, 45.
Public Health Department, Aberdeen, 178.

Quarters of Aberdeen in 1596, 48.

Rebellion, 1715, 53, 60, 76; do., 1745, 53, 60, 76, 156, 159.

Red Cross Society, 179.
Reformation, 6, 154.
——in Aberdeen, 27.
——parishes at, 3.
Reformatory, Mount Street, for Girls, 169.
——Oldmill, 100.
Refuge, House of, 96, 99, 165, 167.
Report of General Assembly, 1817, 89; 1839, 90; 1818, 90.
Restoration, 52, 54.
Revolution, 1688, 52.
Richard of Kintore, 10.
Robb, Alexander, 151.
Robert Gordon's Colleges, 8; and Aberdeen Endowments Trust Order Confirmation Bill, 1923, 175.
Roger, Friar John, 8.
Roscobie, 81.
Ross, Dr., 160.
Ross's School, 173.

St. Columba, 3.
St. Fergus, Relief of poor in, 1843, 73.
St. Fittick's Well, 47.
St. John's, Glasgow, 103 *et seq.*
St. Mary Ad Nives, 13, 14.
St. Nicholas, 4.
——Church (origin), 4, 10.
——Parochial Board, 128, 166, 170, 175.
St. Paul's Chapel, 81, 82.
Savings Bank, 87, 106.
School of Domestic Science, 164.
School of Industry, 170.
Scots money, 68.
Scottish Board of Health instituted, 139, 160, 163, 175, 187, 190, 191, 196.
——Board of Health, power of surcharge on Parish Councils, 191.
Seabank Rescue Home, 186.
Secession Church, 143.
Seven Ill Years, 52.
Shearer, William, Provost of Aberdeen, 24.
Shaw's Fund, 162, 172.
Sick Children's Hospital, 133, 178, 183 *et seq.*
——House Croft, 11. See "Hospital, Leper."
——Man's Friend Society, 94, 159, 161.
Simpson, Alexander, of Colliehill, 157, 169, 170.
——Archibald, 177.
Sinclair, Sir John, 129.
Society for Education of Poor, 97.
——for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 186.
Solemn League and Covenant, 51.
Soup Kitchen, 162, 166.
Spalding, John, 75.
Spence, Bishop Thomas, 8.
Spital, 12.
Spain, 195.
Statute Law Revision Committee, 36.
Steamships first in Aberdeen, 117.
Stoneywood, 180, 192.
——Paper Works, 115, 116.
Stopani, Monsignor, 185.
——Memorial Tablet, 185.
Students' Effort for hospitals, 1923, 181.
Sunnybank Home, 164, 174.

Taggart, Sir James, 181, 183.
Technical College. 174, 175.
Teinds or tithes, 2.
Temperance, 133.
Thain's Charity, 173.
Thom, William, 98.
Thomson of Banchory, 96, 97, 166.
Tokens to beg, 20, 80.
Trades Bursaries, 152.
——Hall. See "Trinity Hall."
——Incorporated, of Aberdeen. See "Incorporated."
——School, 1808, 151.
Trinity Church, 150.
——Friars, 6, 28.
——Hall, 147, 151.

Tufnell (on work of Chalmers), 103.
Tulloch, Dr., 185.
Turnpike Roads, 118.

Unemployment Insurance Act, 193.
Unemployed, relief by City Parish Council, Aberdeen, 130, 190, 191.
Union of Parliaments, 52, 53, 57.
——Street, planning of, 117.
United Coal Fund, 162.
——Fund and Poor's Hospital, 159.
——Contributions tabulated (1834-1841), 84.
——Fund described by Professor Hamilton, 87.
——Fund Income and Expenditure, 1821, 92, 93.
——Fund, Managers of, 82.
——Fund Origin of, 81.
United Fund Report by managers, 1821, 92.

Vaccination Institution, 182.
Vaus, Richard of Meny, 7.
Victoria, Queen, 114.
Voluntary Contribution *versus* Legal Assessment, 87.
——Hospitals Commission, 1922, 179.

Walker, Alexander, 170.
War and race, 195.
Waterloo, 162. See "Napoleon."
Watson, William, 95 *et seq.*, 106, 165, 166; in England, 101.
Watt, Dr. George, 96, 99, 165, 168.
Webster, Alexander, 160.
Westminster Standards, 51.
Whitehall Industrial School, 167, 169 *et seq.*
Whyte, Rev. John A. (and Mrs.), 185.
William and Mary, Proclamation by, 1693, 57, 80, 155.
——of Orange, 155.
——the Lion, 3, 6, 13, 147.
Wilson, R. G., 185.
Workhouse, 158.
"Work" Test, 190.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I Records.

Acts (all) anent the Poor. See *Index of the Laws of Scotland.*

Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis. 2 Vols. New Spalding Club, 1888-1892.

Extracts from the *Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398-1625.* 2 Vols. Spalding Club, 1844-1848.

Extracts from the *Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1625-1747.* 2 Vols. Burgh Records Society, 1871-1872.

Extracts from the *Aberdeen Burgh Registers, 1398-1643.* 3 Vols. MS. George Chalmers, 189—.

Miscellany of the Spalding Club (1841-1852). 5 Vols. Contains records of various events in Aberdeen.

Newhills Kirk Session.

Ordiquhill Kirk Session (extracts).

Registrum episcopatus Aberdonensis. 2 Vols. *Ecclesie cathedralis Aberdonensis regesta que extant in unum collecta.* (Spalding Club, 1845.)

Selections from the *Records of the Kirk Sessions, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen, 1562-1681.* Spalding Club, 1846.

II Reports.

Aberdeen Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (Annual).

Aberdeen Association for the Improvement of the Dwellings of the Labouring Classes, Limited.

Aberdeen Asylum for the Blind.

Aberdeen bankrupt, 1821-1824. Trustees' report, 1822.

Aberdeen Branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Aberdeen Dispensary, Vaccine, and Lying-in Institution. Founded 1823. Rules revised, 1882.

Aberdeen Distress Committee, 1908-1912.

Aberdeen Educational Trust from 1889, and Endowments Trust from 1909.

Aberdeen Female Orphan Asylum. Founded 1840.

Aberdeen Female Society (for the relief of aged and indigent women). Rules, 1804.

Aberdeen Home for Working Lads. Reports from 1909 (first).

Aberdeen Hospital for Incurables (Morningfield).

Aberdeen Hospital for Sick Children.

Aberdeen Industrial Schools Association.

Aberdeen Parish Council Reports, 1895 to date.

Aberdeen Parochial Boards (St. Nicholas and Oldmachar), 1846-1894.

Aberdeen Reformatories and Industrial Schools Act, 1885, with a Report by the Directors, 1885-1886.

Aberdeen Royal Asylum.

Aberdeen Royal Infirmary.

Aberdeen Savings Bank.

Aberdeen Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

Aberdeen Town and County Association for Teaching the Blind in their Homes.

Association for obtaining an Official Inquiry into the Pauperism of Scotland, Proceedings of. Edinburgh, 1840.

Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the Poor, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1839.

Committee of the Town Council of Aberdeen for enquiring into the mode of Assessing and Managing the Poor's Funds in the Burghal Parishes of Scotland, 1841.

Conference on Pauperism and the administration of the Poor Laws, held in Aberdeen, 26th September, 1883.

Local Rating, a report submitted to the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, 1920, by the Commissioner for Hamilton, Provost Sir Henry Keith.

Parliamentary Committee on Poor Laws, 1869-1871.

Poor Law Commissions of Scotland, 1844 (8 Vols.) and 1909.

Poor Law Magazine, monthly.

Royal Commission on Care and Control of Feeble-minded. London, 1908.

III General.

Alison, William Pulteney. Various pamphlets on the system of poor relief in reply to Dr. Chalmers and David Monypenny, 1840-1851.

Anderson, P. J. *Aberdeen Friars*. A preliminary calendar of illustrative documents. Aberdeen, 1909.

Anderson, P. J. Charters and other writs illustrating the history of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen, 1171-1804 (with an inventory of all records in the hands of the municipality). Aberdeen, 1890.

Angus, Marion. Sheriff Watson of Aberdeen, the story of his life and his work for the young—by his granddaughter. Aberdeen, 1913.

Bain, Ebenezer. *Merchant and Craft Guilds*. A history of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades. Aberdeen, 1887.

Beaton, Angus J. The social and economic condition of the Highlands of Scotland since 1800. Stirling, 1906.

Begg, James. *Pauperism and the Poor Laws*. Edinburgh, 1849.

Bellesheim, Alphons. Translated by Hunter Blair. *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*. 4 Vols. Edinburgh, 1887.

Boece, Hector. *History and Chronicles of Scotland*. Translated by John Bellenden. 2 Vols. Edinburgh, 1821.

Boece, Hector. *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum vitae* (Lives of the Bishops). Spalding Club, 1894 (Aberdeen).

Bruce, James. *Lives of Eminent Men in Aberdeen*. Aberdeen, 1841.

Calderwood, David. *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*. Wodrow Society. Edinburgh, 1842-1849.

Cannan, David. On the poor and the duty and mode of supporting them. Edinburgh, 1845.

Chalmers, Thomas. The sufficiency of a parochial system, without a poor rate, for the

right management of the poor (and other pamphlets). Glasgow, 1820-1841.

Cook, John (Dr.), (Laurencekirk). A brief view of the Scottish system for the relief of the poor and of some proposed changes on it. Edinburgh, 1841.

Cruickshank, James. Observations on the Scotch system of Poor Laws, together with the explanation of a plan for the suppression of vagrants, street beggars, and imposters. Aberdeen, 1813.

Dowden, John. Celtic church in Scotland, being an introduction to the history of the Christian Church in Scotland down to the death of Saint Margaret. London, 1894.

Dowden, John. Mediæval Church in Scotland; its constitution, organisation, and law. Glasgow, 1910.

Dunlop, John. The law of Scotland regarding the poor. Edinburgh, 1854.

Ellis, C. Cleveland. The Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1894. Edinburgh, 1912.

Forsyth, William. The province and work of voluntary charitable agencies in the management of the poor. Aberdeen, 1877.

Gordon, James (Parson of Rothiemay). *Abredoniae utriusque descriptio.* A description of both touns of Aberdeen, 1661. Spalding Club, 1842.

Graham, Henry Grey. *Social Life of Scotland in 18th Century.* 2 Vols. London, 1899.

Graham, J. E. (1) Manual of the Acts relating to the Poor Law and Parish Councils in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1907. (2) The Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913. (3) The law relating to the poor and to Parish Councils. Edinburgh. New edition, 1922.

Grice, James Watson. National and local finance; a review of the relations between the central and local authorities in England, France, Belgium and Prussia during the nineteenth century. London, 1910.

Guthrie, Thomas. *A Plea for Ragged Schools, or, Prevention better than Cure.* Edinburgh, 1847 and 1849.

Hamilton, Robert (Professor of Mathematics). An address to the inhabitants of Aberdeen on the management of the poor. Aberdeen, 1822.

Hutchison, William. *Pauperism in Scotland*—an enquiry into its management and suggestions for its remedy. Aberdeen, 1851.

Incorporated Trades. Articles proposed for raising and establishing a fund for the provision of widows of tradesmen in the burgh of Aberdeen. 1771.

Infirmary (Aberdeen Royal). Charter erecting the president and managers of the infirmary of Aberdeen into one body politick. 1773.

Infirmary, History of the Aberdeen Royal, 1904. Its rise and progress. (Reprint from *People's Journal.*)

Innes, Cosmo. *Origines parochiales Scotiae;* the antiquities, ecclesiastical and territorial, of the parishes of Scotland. 2 Vols. Edinburgh, 1851-1855.

Jaffrey, Sir Thomas. *History of Aberdeen Savings Bank.* Aberdeen, 1896.

Kellas, Johnstone, James F. A concise bibliography of the history of the city of Aberdeen and its institutions. Aberdeen, 1914.

Keith, Robert. *Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops to 1688.* Edinburgh, 1824.

History of the affairs of Church and State in Scotland. 3 Vols. Edinburgh, 1850.

Kennedy, William. *Annals of Aberdeen.* 2 Vols. London, 1818.

King, George. *Modern Pauperism and the Scottish Poor Laws.* Aberdeen, 1871.

Lamond, R. P. *The Scottish Poor Laws;* examination of their policy, history, and practical action. Edinburgh, 1870; Glasgow, 1892.

Mackay, George A. *Practice of the Scottish Poor Law.* Edinburgh, 1907.

Mackay, George A. *Management and Construction of Poorhouses and Almshouses.* Edinburgh, 1908.

Monypenny, David. Remarks on the Poor Laws and on the method of providing for the poor in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1834.

Other pamphlets in reply to Dr. Alison, 1840, 1841.

Mortifications under the charge of the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Aberdeen, 1849. Vol. II, 1873.

Munro, Alexander M. *The Common Good of the City of Aberdeen.* Aberdeen, 1888.

Nicholls, Sir George. *History of the Scotch Poor Law.* Edinburgh, 1856.

Orem, William. A description of the Chanonry, Cathedral, and King's College of Old Aberdeen in the years 1724-1725. London. Various editions from 1782.

Robbie, William. *Aberdeen: its Tradition and History.* Aberdeen, 1893.

Robertson, Joseph. *The Book of Bon-Accord.* Aberdeen, 1839 (founder of the First Spalding Club).

Ross, Alexander (china mender, Lodge Walk). An account of the antiquity of the city of Aberdeen. Aberdeen, 1780(?).

Ross, James A. Record of Municipal affairs in Aberdeen. Aberdeen (1833-1888).

Scott, Charles. Remarks on the circumstances and claims of the indigent poor and the inadequacy of the present system of parochial relief in Scotland, with reference especially to the town and parish of Peterhead. Aberdeen, 1841.

Sinclair, Sir George, of Ulbster. *Observations on the New Scottish Poor Law.* Edinburgh, 1849.

Smith, John Guthrie. *A Digest of the Law of Scotland relating to the Poor.* Edinburgh, 1867.

Spalding, John. *Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland and in England, 1624-1645.* 2 Vols. Spalding Club, 1850-1851.

Speech of the Lord Advocate upon the introduction of the Scotch Poor Law Bill in the House of Commons, April 2, 1845; with the observations of other honourable members. Edinburgh, 1845.

Turner, Stanley Horsfall. *History of Local Taxation in Scotland.* Edinburgh, 1908. Management of local loans,

Accountants' Magazine, January, 1908.

Thom, Walter. *History of Aberdeen*. 2 Vols. Aberdeen, 1811.

Thomson, Alexander (of Banchory). *Industrial Schools; their Origin, Rise, and Progress in Aberdeen*. Aberdeen, 1847.

Walker, Alexander. Aberdeen Educational Trust. Aberdeen, 1891, 1896, 1898, 1902.

Walker, Alexander. Aberdeen Female Orphan Asylum (founded by Mrs. Elmslie). Aberdeen, 1896.

Walker, Alexander. *Aberdeen Soup Kitchen History*. Aberdeen, 1892.

Walker, Alexander. Aberdeen Workhouse; History of the Poor's Hospital of Aberdeen, 1739; Boys' Hospital, 1818; Girls' Hospital, 1828. Aberdeen, 1882.

Walker, Alexander. *How to manage at our Board* (Parochial). Aberdeen, 1881.

Walker, Alexander. The Knights Templars in and around Aberdeen. Aberdeen, 1887.

Walker, Alexander. A recommendation to the managers of the Pauper Lunatic Fund of Aberdeen. Aberdeen, 1892.

Walker, Alexander. Robert Gordon (1665-1731), his Hospital (1750-1881), and his College. Aberdeen, 1886.

Watson, William (Sheriff). *The Juvenile Vagrant and the Industrial School, or, Prevention better than Cure*. Aberdeen, 1851.

Watson, William (Sheriff). Pauperism, vagrancy, crime, and industrial education in Aberdeenshire, 1840-1875. Aberdeen, 1877.

Watson, William (Sheriff). On the state of crime and juvenile delinquency in Aberdeenshire —a lecture. Aberdeen, 1847.

Watson, William (Sheriff). *Vagrancy in Scotland—its Causes and Cure*. Edinburgh, 1880.

Webb, Beatrice (Mrs.), and Sidney. Break-up of the Poor Law. See Poor Law Commission Minority Report, 1909. Pt. 1.

English Poor Law Policy. London, 1910.

English Prisons under Local Government. London, 1922.

Grants in Aid—a criticism and a proposal. London, 1911.

Webb, Beatrice and Sidney. *Prevention of Destitution*. London, 1916.

Wilson, James H. *The Bon-Accord Repository of Local Institutions, Municipal, Educational, Charitable, etc*. Aberdeen, 1842.

Printed at The Rosemount Press, Aberdeen

Vu pour impression Rennes le 27 juillet 1923.
Le président du jury,
G. Dottin,
professeur et doyen.